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MAYOR'S OFFICE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

San Francisco, California, October 8, 1947

(By courtesy of the local arrangements committee, the delegates and visitors were taken on an all-day tour of the San Francisco Bay Area and the Muir Woods on Tuesday, October 7.)

The convention was called to order at 9:55 o'clock a. m. by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us this morning the Reverend Simpson of the National Board of the Presbyterian Church, who will pronounce the invocation.

I am pleased to present to you Reverend Tom Simpson.

REVEREND TOM SIMPSON
(Member of National Board of Presbyterian Church)

Almighty and everlasting God from Whom we came, in Whose presence we live and move and have our being, and back to Whom one day we shall all return to give an account of our stewardship, grant that we may be conscious of Thy presence here this morning, and that we are also responsible unto Thee for the acts, the words and even the very thoughts of our hearts. We give Thee thanks for the progress that has been made in the past, the emancipation of humanity in every land. But, our Father, we ask Thee by the spirit to enter into our hearts so that none of us can feel at ease so long as any are in bondage. We pray today for a broken world. We acknowledge our part in it. As we enter into a new world, O God, give us wisdom that we may build according to Thy mind and holy will. We ask Thee to bless the leaders of this great convention and every part of it. May each one realize that he has a part in building that future temple where Thy name shall be glorified. Now, our Father, we ask Thee that this great convention be rededicated again to know Thy mind and holy will, and may the spirit that touched humanity in the Carpenter's shop in Galilee brood over all deliberations, and may all things be done according to Thy mind and holy will. We ask it in His great name. Amen.

INTRODUCTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want you all to know and become acquainted with our most welcome and distinguished visitors and fraternal delegates to this conven-

tion from Great Britain and Canada. We are happy to have them here. You might meet them in the hall and outside the hall, and I want you to know them, so I am going to introduce them to you this morning so that you can meet them and greet them when you have an opportunity to do so.

First, may I present to you Brother Arthur Deakin, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Organization, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Then we have as his associate Brother Robert Openshaw, member of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain—Brother Openshaw.

Then we have with us Brother Robert Brown, fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—Brother Robert Brown.

(Each of the fraternal delegates acknowledged the introduction as his name was read.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am sure you will remember them as you meet them from time to time. I know each one of you as you meet them will make it clear that they are among their real friends and that we welcome them here to our convention.

The Chair now presents to you Secretary Dalton of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE

Secretary Dalton of the committee presented the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

William Blizzard, representing the Logan County, West Va., Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Geo. J. Harrison, representing the Kansas City, Kansas, Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Earnest Cordray, representing the Barberton, Ohio, Central Labor Union, 1 vote.
John Owens, representing the Perry County Central Trades and Labor Council, Crooksville, Ohio, 1 vote.

O. B. Soucie, representing the Terre Haute, Indiana, Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Frank D. Wilson, representing the Tri-City Federation of Labor, Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill., 1 vote.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this report.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to present to you for just a moment, a distinguished representative who has attended the California State Legislature as a State Senator. He is here visiting with us just briefly this morning. He is our friend—has been the friend of labor, connected with us, working with us, cooperating with us in full measure. I present to you the Honorable Thomas A. Maloney, who serves as Speaker Pro Tem of the California State Legislature, and Senator from the Twentieth District—Senator Maloney.

HONORABLE THOMAS A. MALONEY (Speaker Pro Tempore, California State Legislature)

President Green, officers and delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention: As the Speaker Pro Tem of the California State Assembly, I welcome you here to San Francisco and to the State of California. I report to you, after 24 years' service representing the American Federation of Labor in Sacramento, progress. I am very happy to say that during my 24 years' reign we have placed upon the books of this great State of California some of the most progressive laws in the country. We have continually gone along and raised our compensation from \$16.25 to \$30.00 per week. We have placed on our books an unemployment insurance bill and on top of that in the session of 1943 we placed upon the books the Shelley Sickness and Disability Bill. In other words, if a man becomes unemployed and unfortunately becomes sick in his occupation which is not compensable, he then is allowed to draw in this State of California close to 35 weeks of benefits.

I report progress to you, and while the Taft-Hartley bill is one of the biggest topics of conversation in America today, may I bring to you the information that at the last session of the Legislature in 1947 we killed Senate Bill 1492, which, in my

opinion, was just as drastic, if not more drastic than the Taft-Hartley bill as far as men and women who work for a living in California are concerned.

Therefore, may I wish you a successful convention. May I also say that I was born and raised, brought up in the labor movement by Mike Casey, John McLaughlin, and John O'Connell, and the old stalwarts of the American Federation of Labor, and from them until the day I die I take your program. Thank you.

CHANGES IN COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

PRESIDENT GREEN announced the following additions to committees:

Delegate Glen Thom of the Fire Fighters Association will serve as alternate to George J. Richardson on the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate John P. Crane of the Fire Fighters Association is to be added to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate John Gelo of the Ladies Garment Workers Union is to be added to the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate William J. Buckley of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers is to serve on the Committee on Resolutions instead of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Committee on Rules and Order of Business is now ready to report to the convention. The Chair recognizes Chairman Robinson of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, for a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is prepared to report. Delegate Joseph Clark, Secretary of the Committee, will present the report.

Committee Secretary Clark submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Sixty-sixth Convention of

the American Federation of Labor, convened in San Francisco, California, October 6, 1947, begs leave to make the following report for your consideration.

Rules

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m., and remain in session until 12 m., reconvening at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. The convention next week will be in session Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and will meet on Saturday, if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. A roll call on any motion shall be called at the request of 10 per cent of the delegates present.

Rule 11. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 12. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 13. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 14. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 17. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes

from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 18. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 19. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

John B. Robinson, Chairman
Joseph P. Clark, Secretary
W. R. Brooks
R. J. Petree
John C. MacDonald
William Harding
Charles Aquadro
Thomas Pierce
Frank B. Field
Joseph Lewis
H. E. Greenwald
George J. Richardson
D. D. McClurg
Jacob Halpern
Beatrice Rice
William F. Schnitzler
A. U. Debrucque
E. H. Williams
George Nolan
Al. J. Cleland
Robert Morgan
Morris Fuchs
D. C. Cone
R. W. Rich
William J. Pearsall.
Committee on Rules and
Order of Business.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY CLARK: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us as a visitor to the convention a fellow worker from Belgium. I want to pre-

sent him to you now, so you may know him, and for the purpose of listening to his brief message.

Brother O. Becu, President of the Transport Workers of Belgium and Member of the Executive Committee of the International Transport Workers Federation. I know you are pleased to extend to him a warm, hearty and cordial welcome. I am pleased to present to you now Brother Becu, who will bring to you his message this morning.

MR. O. BECU

(President, Transport Workers of Belgium and Member of Executive Committee of the International Transport Workers Federation)

Mr. President, ladies, gentlemen and friends:

I came to this great country in order to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Transport Workers Federation which was held in Washington about 14 days ago. It was the first time in the 50 years' existence of this worldwide International, which embraces the Transport Workers of some 35 countries, that an official conference of this kind has been held in the United States of America.

This meeting is, and I venture to say, will prove to be historic, not only because of the important decisions, which have been unanimously arrived at, but also on account of the fact that very important organizations; namely, all those linked up with the Railway Labor Executive Association, have recently affiliated with the International Transport Workers Federation. This newly and highly appreciated affiliation was the reason to hold the meeting of the Executive Committee in the United States with a view to bringing together not only the members of that Executive Committee, but also the representatives of American Railway men with the Railway men of different European countries, and so establishing necessary personal contacts and spirit of real brotherhood.

I have come here from Belgium, one of the small European countries, representing the Belgian Federation of Labor and the Belgian Transport Workers Union, of which I am the President. It is in behalf of those organizations that I thank you, Mr. President Green, and through you, all the fellow delegates here present, most warmly for your courteous invitation to attend your convention.

It is indeed a great honor for me to have the opportunity of addressing a few words to this great army of American workers who have freely chosen the American Federation of Labor to represent them in such

vital questions which directly interest their social and economic life.

I am well aware of the great importance of your convention and of the crucial questions to be discussed at this stage of chaotic world affairs, that I will not abuse the time put at my disposal. However, you will forgive me if I touch on a few points which I consider of great importance to all workers of the entire world.

I have stated that I came here from a small country of Europe which is indeed small as far as the territory that it covers is concerned, but which can notwithstanding be considered as great through the role which its people has played in the history of mankind. I for one cannot forget that Belgium has so often been the country to absorb the first shocks in armed conflicts and the battleground as a buffer state in evil wars between people. To describe the sufferings of my fellow countrymen in all those battles would be a far going subject which can hardly be put into words.

Belgium had almost recovered from World War I and was indeed on the verge of full reconstruction when it was again invaded and dragged into another disaster and inhuman devastation. We, therefore, claim the right to speak loudly in favor of a durable and lasting peace.

We knew that winning the war would be very difficult and if it had not been for your country it would have been hopeless but we knew equally well that as far as labor is concerned it would be even more difficult to win a rightful peace. I think that we have all come to the conclusion at this moment about the truthfulness of this idea, for if one considers closely the state of affairs on an International level, it ought to be clear to everyone that our struggle for a world based on humanitarian principles has not come to an end. In fact, I believe, that we will have to pool all our strength together in order to avoid further chaos and destruction of civilization. For people like us who love freedom and democracy and who are prepared to fight all their lives for those ideals, we must realize that, putting them in their right place and meaning, there exists a not imaginary danger that the masses of the world could be misled and the clock put back for many years to come.

I, therefore, think that this in which we are involved is what we stand for at this moment. With this tremendous responsibility weighing heavily on our shoulders, it will largely depend upon labor to see to it that the right course is followed by all those who have democracy at heart. I am convinced having all this in mind, that your present convention must be considered as one of the utmost importance in the life of the labor movement, for I may assure you that the eyes of the workers of the whole world are turned towards you.

There is no doubt that without your help the working people of Europe will be put in an almost hopeless position for as one who knows fairly well the present situation in Europe I must declare that some

of those people will not be able to recover from the enormous disruptive shocks, which were brought upon them during the war, without the help of a stronger brother. The fear exists that without this help, a large part of the working classes of Europe will despair and could consequently be led into adverse channels.

Richer and stronger industrially organized people, notwithstanding their great potentialities, can no longer in my opinion isolate themselves from the rest of the world.

It is not possible that the products of such a country could be sold to other countries if the normal course of commerce and industry is not being followed; namely, that it should be worked out both ways insofar that commerce cannot be considered in a one-way conception. We ought to realize that careful attention should be given to the needs of the countries that lack the necessary materials for the reconstruction of their industries in order that they be put into a position not only to buy these commodities, but also to sell those which they produce.

I mean to say that, if from a National point of view it may be proper for one country to organize according to its own policies the economic and industrial life, that this cannot be the case on an International scale without well constructed plans. For example, I may state that it could not be considered as sound that one country should have the right to dispose of all the essential shipping space to transport back and forth the necessary goods.

We, as labor, must be aware of the fact that constructive planning must be used in order to achieve social justice all over the world which is without any doubt the backbone of peace.

With this conception in mind there is no doubt that the labor forces of the United States of America can make a very impressive and paramount contribution towards that end.

I cannot refrain from thinking that in many respects the stronghold, I should say the arsenal of democracy, lies to a large extent within the power of American organized labor through the great influence that it is able to exercise upon the labor masses of the world. We Europeans, who know the American Federation of Labor and the policy it has pursued throughout its existence, are totally convinced of the real democratic trade union principles upon which your movement has always been based. There is no doubt that the democratic loving European labor has the same common objective and that basically there is no difference between your movement and ours. We, as you, in our labor movement want to remain free and independent from every outside influence and cannot accept the idea that our movement should be ruled and dominated by any political force, employer or government. In my opinion it is therefore necessary in order to safeguard those principles, that we should come closer and closer together, working, hand in hand and unite our forces in the common cause.

Mr. President Green, I thank you most warmly for the great hospitality extended to me during my stay in the United States. Wishing your convention every possible success and expressing the hope that it may flourish and grow steadily stronger.

PRESIDENT GREEN: May I thank you, Brother Becu, for the inspiring message you have brought to us this morning. We are in hearty accord with the noble fraternal sentiments expressed in this most impressive message. We want you to remain with us as long as you can. We assure you that you are among friends, and we want you to enjoy our hospitality.

Thank you very much, Brother Becu.

I am in receipt of an interesting message from the President of the United States, and I will present it to you now. I call upon Secretary Meany to read the message sent to us by President Truman.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE

The White House
Washington

Dear Mr. Green:

Please convey my greetings to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor in attendance at the Sixty-sixth Annual Convention of your organization. I wish them and you a successful meeting.

Since your first convention, the United States has grown in power and prestige until today we are the most powerful and prosperous nation in the world. That power and prosperity bring with them added responsibilities, not only to our own people, but to the needy and oppressed people in other lands. Our economic and political problems and those of Europe are now interlocked in a manner undreamed of in the early days of your organization.

People in many parts of the world are looking to us for aid until they can again become self-supporting members of the community of nations. I feel sure that the working men and women of America do not begrudge our sharing of our abundance with those less fortunate, especially in view of the fact that our production today is greater than ever before in peacetime.

I know, too, that labor and industry, recognizing the seriousness of the situation abroad, will cooperate to raise the production level still further to help meet the critical conditions which threaten the well-being of the entire world. I feel sure that America can depend upon its workers to cooperate fully and generously in an all-out effort to help feed the hungry

across the seas in the months ahead. The need for grain in many countries in the year ahead will be even more acute than in the past. The United States must export large amounts of food if this need is to be met—but to do so will require the conservation of food by every American. The President of the American Federation of Labor is a member of the Citizens Food Committee which is helping the Government plan ways and means of conserving essential food, and I am sure that the members of your unions are squarely behind the effort to provide the food that will enable the people of other countries to hasten their rehabilitation.

We in the United States have been fortunate. We have fought and won two terrible wars within our time. Now our huge labor force is again peacefully producing for abundance. None of these victories over the forces of tyranny and want would have been possible without the patriotic support of the workers of America.

Marked economic changes have taken place since your convention last year. Employment has reached record figures; unemployment has been held to a minimum. Substantial wage increases have benefited millions of workers. Production has reached new peacetime levels and work stoppages have declined. But prices have advanced to unreasonable heights and housing is far insufficient for the needs of many of our citizens. These are conditions which must be remedied so that we can maintain a stable and prosperous economy in which all will share the benefits.

The American Federation of Labor is concerned with the immediate welfare of its members, and the improvement of their security and their working and living conditions. It is likewise concerned with the interests of the Nation as a whole, with the broadening of our social security system so that its benefits may be extended to a greater number and with the establishment of an adequate system of health insurance.

I know that the delegates to your convention will, in their deliberations, place first on the order of business the welfare of our country and the means by which we may in cooperation one with the other, build an ever-expanding economy in the interests of our own people and those of Europe who are looking to us to help them regain their economic health and political stability.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am sure we all deeply appreciate this message sent to us by the Chief Executive of our nation. It will be included in the proceedings of this convention.

Now we have with us this morning Mr. J. R. Klawans, Chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Veterans of

Foreign Wars. He is here in response to an invitation which I sent to the President of the Veterans of Foreign Wars Organization. The president could not attend, but he has substituted Mr. Klawans to speak for him.

I am very happy to present to you now J. R. Klawans, Chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

MR. J. R. KLAWANS

(Chairman, National Legislative Committee, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

I come before you today as the representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Commander-in-Chief, Ray H. Brannaman. As the spokesman for two million veterans of the United States Army, Navy and Marine Corps, who have served their country in time of war on foreign soil and in hostile waters, I believe it is peculiarly fitting that our two great organizations, which have worked together in harmony for many years, should again have the opportunity to visit with each other for the good of our country.

Between four and five million veterans are in the ranks of organized labor. Veterans are railroad workers and miners, mechanics and laborers, steel workers and textile workers, just as they are businessmen, farmers and doctors.

But even more important, these same vets were the soldiers and heroes of yesterday's war. They learned to count on the support and unity of labor.

It was through the solidarity of labor that planes and ships were built to keep Old Glory flying, that bullets were turned out to load our carbines. While American soldiers fought side by side on Iwo Jima, at Cassino and in the jungles of New Guinea, just so did American workers unite, native-born and foreign-born, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, white and black, to keep the weapons of war rolling across the assembly lines.

In peacetime as well, labor in America has achieved such a degree of production and such a high standard of living that it seems as if some manner of magic is practiced.

What accounts for these miracles? The American worker is not born with sharper wits or greater talents than his fellows elsewhere. It's simply that he's free. Free to follow his own religious faith. Free to choose his own career. Free to speak his mind and have a say in his government.

Such a man's energy and initiative has made this Nation the wealthiest in the world. Such a man's imagination invents the steam engine, the telephone and the automobile. His free spirit searches out

new ways to bring more leisure and pleasure to all mankind.

The totalitarian slave of the left or the right who works at the point of a gun takes no satisfaction in his labor. In him the spirit is crushed and he performs his work like an automaton. It is only the free man who can accomplish miracles.

During the late unpleasantness, an opportunity was given me to participate in the program of the Construction Battalions of the Navy—Sea Bees to you. Never in the history of our great Nation has such a program been paralleled. From your ranks sprang the personnel of the Sea Bees and the page which they wrote into the history of the United States, is one of which every member of your organization can well be proud. Many of these fighting men are now members of the V. F. W., as well as members of your great group.

Our National Encampment was held at Cleveland, Ohio, last month and, at that time, the V. F. W., by a resolution adopted unanimously, again affirmed its position that labor's right to collective bargaining be maintained.

These two great organizations—the American Federation of Labor and the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States—who have marched shoulder to shoulder during the stress and strain of war must continue to march together during these dangerous times. Our National defense requires that we serve in peace as in war. With the shadow of the atom bomb and directed missiles hanging heavy over the troubled world, it has become essential that we unite to give our country the biggest, toughest and most efficient air force in the world. It is our hope that you will join with us in supporting this program. We cannot permit our airplane manufacturing industry to pass out of existence because we will be the first target of any future enemy and we will not be given the opportunity, nor the time, to create another "Arsenal of Democracy." War is like a poker game—the second best hand is no good. Let's see to it that we have the best air force in the world and the strongest Navy in the world, as these are our first lines of defense.

We have one other primary objective—to see to it that the United States of America, the richest country in the world, carries out the obligation described by Abraham Lincoln in the words: "to care for him who has bared his breast to the enemy and for his widow and orphan". Rehabilitation of our disabled comrades necessitates constant vigilance on our part against those forces who, under the guise of economy, are always attempting to deprive those unfortunates, for whom the war will never end, of the pittance allowed them. In the past, your organization has supported us in our fight for a decent allowance for these disabled men and their families. We hope you will continue to aid us in this continuous battle.

In closing, may I extend to you, President Green, and to your organization, the best wishes of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its Commander-in-Chief, Ray H.

Brannaman. May you have a most successful Convention and a prosperous year ahead, because as labor prospers, so prospers the Nation.

Among the active interests shared between the Federation and the Veterans of Foreign Wars is our common effort to maintain the supremacy of reclamation law in development of western water resources. The National Reclamation Law of 1902 was drawn with utmost care as an anti-monopoly, anti-speculation measure. At its birth it had the official blessing of the American Federation of Labor, and constituent unions such as the Illinois Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and others.

We find as veterans that obstruction of this development under reclamation law already is contributing to a power shortage striking down chemical production in this Bay area, in plants where veterans and your own members are employed. We discover that unless the historic 160-acre water limitation of the reclamation law is maintained, and the government is authorized to purchase excess landholdings, American veterans will continue to face overwhelming disappointment in the public distribution of irrigated farms, for which they are now applying at the rate of 30 veterans to 1 farm, and even 300 to 1 at Yakima in the State of Washington.

Speaking for veterans, I want to express gratitude to your constituent in this state, the California State Federation of Labor, and to your National Legislative Representative, who, in 1944, carried the brunt of defense against this double-barreled attack on reclamation law while our men were in Europe and the Pacific. Ever since, and to this day, the American Federation of Labor and the Veterans of Foreign Wars continue to fight side by side against these twin drives to scuttle reclamation law in the West. We are proud to be allied with you, and other public-spirited citizens, in this fight against water and power monopoly.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank our friend, Mr. Klawans, for his visit with us this morning and for the fine message he brought to us. There is a very close and co-operative and friendly relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the Veterans of Foreign Wars' organization. We think largely along the same lines. The economic viewpoint of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is similar to the economic point of view of the American Federation of Labor. We exchange what I might properly term fraternal representation between the conventions of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and of the American Federation of Labor.

I assure you, Brother Klawans, that the officers and delegates in this conven-

tion deeply appreciate your visit and your most interesting message.

Now, I am sure you will be pleased to be permitted to listen to a most informative address by the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor. He has brought to us most educational, interesting and helpful addresses at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor for quite a long period of time. He always presents to the officers and delegates in attendance at our conventions information they seek. He answers questions that they ask themselves. He is prepared now to discharge that duty this morning to the highest degree. His message this morning will be of special interest because our minds are thoroughly occupied with the attack that has been made upon us through enactment of the anti-labor legislation in the different states and by the Congress of the United States.

Judge Padway has discharged his duties in a most wonderful way all during the past years. He has served us well. He has presented our cases in the courts of the land. He has kept us advised on legal phases of this legislation and on other matters. He will speak to you this morning and I know you will appreciate the opportunity of listening to his splendid address.

I now present Judge Joseph A. Padway, General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor.

JUDGE JOSEPH A. PADWAY
(General Counsel, American Federation of Labor)

Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I say to you, Mr. President, that, although you have on previous occasions expressed commendation of my work and the work of my associates on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, your remarks on this occasion give me considerable satisfaction because this has been a most hectic and trying year for the office of your General Counsel. In the ten years I have served as your General Counsel, the Federation has been confronted with many important legal problems, but in none of these ten years has

the Federation been confronted with as important a series of legal contests or with legislation of such major consequence as it has been confronted with in the year 1947.

In 1943 there was a wave of anti-labor legislation which passed the legislatures of approximately twelve states. As General Counsel, it became my duty to contest a number of these anti-labor laws. Some of these contests were resolved in the highest courts of the respective states, and I am happy to say that the outcome was favorable to labor. Some cases involving these laws are still pending. In 1947 a number of other states passed anti-labor laws, bringing the total up to thirty states which now have adopted significant anti-labor laws. Most of these states outlaw union-security agreements or so-called closed-shop agreements. Others seek to restrict peaceful picketing and boycotting of the so-called "hot cargo" variety, which, in effect, punishes refusal by union men to handle or work on non-union material. Some states have outlawed the right to strike and have imposed compulsory arbitration. Particularly significant are compulsory arbitration and "cooling-off" features in public utility disputes. The more important cases now being handled by the office of the General Counsel are those affecting the validity of the anti-closed-shop laws.

On this subject alone the American Federation of Labor has five cases testing the constitutionality of various phases of the anti-closed-shop laws pending before five state Supreme Courts. These states are North Carolina, Arizona, Nebraska, Tennessee and Florida. We have devised these cases so as to present a different approach and a different method of attack in each one of them. For instance, one case is presented as a criminal case because the law provides that the making of a closed-shop contract is a criminal offense. Another case is a suit for injunction on behalf of a union against the state enforcement officials from enforcing the Act. In a third case an employer is seeking an injunction to restrain the union from enforcing a closed-shop contract. Another case involves a suit by an individual worker who

has been discharged under a closed-shop contract. Another case is brought by an employer who seeks to maintain his existing closed-shop agreement. We have argued most of these cases and filed comprehensive briefs. They have been so timed that we can obtain a determination of them from the various courts at about the same time. Thus, on appeal to the United States Supreme Court all aspects of the law will have been covered in these various cases, and we may then obtain a comprehensive decision from the United States Supreme Court. I want to say that, in addition to our legal briefs, we called to our aid and assistance Mr. Boris Shishkin, Director of the Research Division of the American Federation of Labor, who prepared a splendid economic brief which is being submitted to every one of the state Supreme Courts before which these closed-shop cases are pending. We hope to obtain a favorable decision. The Supreme Court of the United States may not be impressed with one case or with one angle of the subject, but by submitting various issues arising out of the anti-closed-shop laws we expect to make a most emphatic presentation of our views. The importance of these cases cannot be overemphasized because they will determine whether the provisions of the Taft-Hartley law outlawing the closed shop are constitutional.

There are two or three other cases to which I desire to direct your attention because of their importance to organized labor.

United States of America vs. Petrillo

In 1945 Congress passed an act known as the "Lea Act." This bill concerned itself with the broadcasting industry and sought to prohibit the American Federation of Musicians from enforcing legitimate demands upon employers. Among the demands outlawed was a request to employ more men than needed. A prosecution of President Petrillo personally was instituted by the United States in Chicago. United States District Judge La Buy ruled that the Act was unconstitutional. On appeal to the Supreme Court the main issues in the case were not passed upon at all. The contention before

the U. S. Supreme Court was that the Lea Act was nothing more or less than an anti-strike bill. Since the Lea Act made it legal for an employer and the union to enter into such an agreement, then what was really outlawed was striking in furtherance of a lawful demand. That was the issue we wanted settled, that is, whether a peaceful strike in furtherance of a lawful demand can be constitutionally denied. What the Supreme Court did was to evade this issue. It was merely said that the language in the Act—"more men than needed"—was specific enough to understand what was meant. What we wanted to know was whether a law prohibiting a strike in furtherance of a lawful demand was constitutional. Thus, we have to go back to Judge La Buy, try the case on its merits and go through the process of an appeal once more to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The reason I emphasize this case is to show what might happen to us in a good many of the court tests under the Taft-Hartley law and other anti-labor laws. The Supreme Court might refuse at first to pass upon the constitutional issues, evading them as it did in this case. There are many provisions in the Taft-Hartley law which outlaw strikes, and we shall have to make the same argument to the court with respect to the Taft-Hartley law as was made with respect to the Lea Act; in fact, the Taft-Hartley law contains an anti-featherbedding provision which is almost identical with one of the provisions in the Lea Act. That provision is not confined merely to the Musicians' Union but to all unions. Thus, no union can engage in the practice of standbys or make a demand for payment for work which the employer claims he does not need. That immediately raises the legality of call-in pay, the right to demand helpers, etc., in connection with work to be performed. Thus, the disposition of the Petrillo case after its trial before Judge La Buy, which will take place this Fall, will prove of great consequence in testing the validity of the so-called "anti-featherbedding" provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act.

"Battle of the Statler" Case

A case which deserves attention because of its unique character is one which

involves the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. While it does not involve any principle of new law affecting labor, it does involve the attempt on the part of a large segment of the press of the United States to besmirch the character and good name of labor through an attack on the officers of an International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and on the International Union itself. I am referring now to the case familiarly termed "The Battle of the Statler."

On the night of September 23, 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt, then President of the United States, made a speech at a dinner given by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at the Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C. President Roosevelt addressed the assembled Teamster delegates, at the conclusion of which he left the dining room. Soon thereafter the delegates commenced to file out. Two naval officers who had been drinking accosted the Teamster delegates and other persons and used obscene language with reference to the President of the United States. A fight ensued, the Shore Patrol was called, and the officers were removed. Although there were almost one hundred reporters at the dinner, it seemed that none of them got wind of this fracas until a week later when there appeared in the press large headlines and three or four column stories on the front page to the effect that the President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had been mixed up in a brawl with these naval officers, that he had insulted the uniform of the Navy, etc., etc. A barrage of derogatory and malicious news was set in motion concerning this incident from that day on to the day of election; in fact, the two officers were induced to institute a lawsuit against President Tobin and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for several hundred thousands of dollars, alleging that the Teamsters had assaulted and libelled them. Ordinarily, a case of this kind would have been a private matter disposed of between the parties involved, but it was made a tremendous public issue in this instance. A Committee of the Senate undertook an investigation of the affair. Anti-labor Congressmen requested the Secretary of the Navy

to issue reports to navy personnel and to all ships at sea, condemning the Teamsters. Labor was referred to as "goons" and "cowards," and union officers in general were condemned just as they were when the Taft-Hartley bill was being considered. This incident took on tremendous proportions and was utilized as a spearhead campaign against all organized labor. When the suit was instituted for libel in the Federal Courts of Washington, President Tobin determined to go through with the case in court. The case in all probability could have been disposed of by an apology to the officers. President Tobin declared that these officers had no apology coming to them—that if there were to be any apologies, they would have to come from the officers to the Teamsters. He ordered the defense of this case, and it was defended at quite an expense.

The case came on for trial this Spring. On the opening day of the trial, one of the officers got cold feet and asked for leave to dismiss his case. That was granted. The other officer proceeded with his trial. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters felt that the proper way to get vindication was to try it before a jury, and a jury was impanelled. After two weeks of trial, at which a score of witnesses testified, not only were the politics which were behind the case exposed, but the plan of the press to utilize this incident to build up an anti-labor feeling on the part of the public was likewise exposed. It went to the jury, and after a brief deliberation the jury returned a verdict against the officer and in favor of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Perhaps this case will serve as notice to the press that a deliberate and malicious plan to besmirch the good name of labor will not stand a test before an American jury.

Another significant feature about this case is this—that although the plaintiff, Dickens, one of the officers involved, has claimed to have very meager means, nevertheless, he has decided on an appeal which, as you all know, is a very costly affair; we strongly suspect that those who motivated the malicious propaganda in the first instance backed the suit in the U. S. District Court and are now backing it on appeal.

United States vs. John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America

The next case I wish to discuss with you is of tremendous importance to the labor movement of the country. It is the case of **United States vs. John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America**. In my humble opinion, this is the outstanding labor case of the twentieth century in this country. This is not said to dramatize the particular case, but rather to emphasize the legal principles involved affecting the rights of the workers of this Nation.

"Government by injunction" was the common thing at the turn of the century and for a good many years thereafter, but since the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932 the term lost its significance and is barely known to the workers of the last generation. In a most dramatic fashion government by injunction returned in all its full fury in the Mine Workers case. Those in the labor movement who had lived through the travail and turmoil of the era of "government by injunction" were alarmed, and for good and substantial reason, at the manner in which it was restored.

In 1945 the Government took over the mines under the Smith-Connally Act. In taking over the mines, however, it did not acquire title to the properties and the Government expressly provided that the miners shall not be considered employees of the Government; on the contrary, the former owners retained full ownership and possession rights and, indeed, continued active management and operation of the mines. After the mines were thus taken over by the Government a contract was negotiated with the miners which, among other things, prescribed a procedure whereby the contract could be terminated by the giving of certain notices. Because of Government refusal to adjust certain disputes such notices were given and the contracts duly terminated in the manner provided for. The Government challenged the right of the union to terminate the contract and rushed into the U. S. District Court with a request for a preliminary injunction which was granted without a notice or hearing. The injunction restrained the officers of the union from publishing the fact that the

contract was terminated, from continuing in effect any former notices that were given, and from taking any action whatsoever in aid or encouragement of any stoppage of work in the coal mines. The precise language of that injunction was virtually identical with some of the most infamous injunction orders in American Labor history.

President Lewis of the United Mine Workers was advised that the order was in glaring violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act and hence was a nullity which carried no force and which could, therefore, be disregarded. The Government thereupon instituted contempt proceedings which were tried by the same judge who issued the temporary injunction. After argument and trial of several days, the trial court imposed the largest fine ever imposed in a contempt proceeding, namely, a fine of \$3,500,000 against the Mine Workers and of \$10,000 against John L. Lewis.

Representing Mr. Lewis and the Mine Workers was Mr. Welly Hopkins, chief counsel of the United Mine Workers, a most able, experienced, and outstanding labor lawyer. It was my privilege to be associated with Mr. Hopkins in this case, and associated with us were other most competent and able counsel. Among them were Mr. Edmund Burke, Mr. Thomas Townsend, Mr. Harrison Combs, Mr. Henry Kaiser and Mr. James Glenn. The legal work was in a great measure directed, coordinated and facilitated by the very splendid director of the legal division of the United Mine Workers, Mr. Earl Houck. His tremendous practical knowledge of the handling of matters of this type contributed greatly to the solution of many intricate and difficult problems. I must admit that his efforts simplified much of our work which would otherwise have been performed with considerable difficulty.

Representing the Government were the Attorney General of the United States, Tom Clark, Assistant Attorney General John Sonnet, and a large staff of government lawyers.

Appeals were taken and by resort to certain emergency procedures the appeal went directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. While there were several exceedingly important questions pre-

sented to the Supreme Court, by far the most crucial and most significant to organized labor was that of whether an order issued in violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, that is, an order issued beyond the jurisdiction of the Court, had to be obeyed. For, obviously, if such orders could sustain contempt charges, every labor union would be exposed to financial ruin by the arbitrary caprice of any anti-labor judge in the country.

The members of the Supreme Court split several ways on the basic questions in the case, and it may be fairly stated in the majority opinions that they are notable only because of their extreme evasiveness and confusion. The so-called majority opinion was authored by Chief Justice Vinson and adopted in its entirety by Justices Burton and Reed. That opinion argued vaguely that the Norris-LaGuardia Act did not apply to disputes involving the Government and that since the Government had taken over the mines this was such a dispute. Evidently, sensing the weakness of this assigned reason, they proceeded to adopt another, weaker and more amazing; they held that even if the Norris-LaGuardia Act did apply and thereby the Court was without jurisdiction to issue the injunction, the void order nevertheless had to be obeyed. Mr. Justice Jackson dissented from that portion of the majority opinion which refused to apply the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Nevertheless, he joined in that portion which held that the void order had to be obeyed. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in a separate opinion, held that under the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the injunction was improperly issued. But he devised a theory which compelled obedience to the void order. Justices Douglas and Black avoided the all-important question of necessity to conform with a void order by ruling that the miners were government employees and adopted the majority ruling that the Norris-LaGuardia Act did not apply to government employees. As to that it should be noted that even the Government did not suggest or argue that the miners were government employees; and, indeed, no one familiar with the manner in which the coal mines were administered under the Smith-Connally Act had ever even suggested that the miners were government employees. Justices

Rutledge and Murphy wrote stirring dissenting opinions pointing out at great length the many and obvious errors in the reasoning of the majority opinions and calling forth a host of authoritative prior decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which were directly in conflict with the majority opinion in the Mine Workers' case. Justices Rutledge and Murphy tore to shreds the reasoning of the majority. A conditional reduction of the \$3,500,000 fine to \$700,000 was voted by the majority. But Justices Rutledge, Murphy, Black and Douglas were against imposing any fine.

As you can well imagine, the courtroom of Justice Goldsborough before whom the case was tried was crowded every day of the proceedings. At the conclusion of the trial and before sentence for contempt was to be imposed upon Mr. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, Mr. Lewis arose and stated that he desired to make a statement to the Court expressing his own views respecting the principles involved in the case and particularly on the major issue which had now been revived, namely, "government by injunction." It seems to me a fitting conclusion to a discussion of this case to read that historical statement by President Lewis to Justice Goldsborough before the Judge imposed the fine of \$3,500,000 upon the Miners, which was later reduced to \$700,000 by the Supreme Court, and the fine of \$10,000 upon President Lewis. I might say parenthetically at this point that the recent contract secured by the United Mine Workers from the mine operators has taken care of the repayment of that \$700,000 with considerable interest, court costs and all else included. I will now quote to you Mr. Lewis' statement:

"The history of the labor injunction prior to 1932 is a sordid one. Congress in 1914 recognized that by passing the Clayton Act, and again in 1932 by enacting the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The latter Act, in plain language which any intelligent citizen can understand, provides that—

"No court of the United States... shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute..."

"The United Mine Workers are in a dispute over working conditions in the mines which, in our opinion, spells nothing else but a labor dispute. The Clayton Act and

the Norris-LaGuardia Act clearly enumerate certain traditional union activities which shall not be restrained or enjoined by any court, among them being ceasing or refusing to perform any work or to remain in any relation of employment, and the giving of publicity to the facts involved in any labor dispute.

"On October 21st this Union asked for conferences to discuss our grievances. Outstanding among these grievances which cries aloud for immediate adjustment is the deadly, brutal fifty-four hour work week underground in American coal mines. Our miners work at the operators' option, nine hours per day, six days per week, which is a longer work day and work week than prevails in the mining industry of any civilized country in the world. These disputes over working conditions in the mines were not resolved and the representatives of the United Mine Workers determined that the so-called Krug-Lewis Agreement was breached. The representatives, after a period of twenty-five days, on November 15th, notified the Secretary of the Interior that the contract was terminated as of November 20th.

"The agents of the Government, in what we believe to constitute a violation of both the Clayton and the Norris-LaGuardia Acts, applied for a temporary restraining order which this Court granted without notice and without a hearing.

"This Court has now ruled that the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia Acts do not apply to this controversy. That is a matter for legal counsel to appraise and evaluate.

"But above and beyond those statutes there is a Federal Constitution binding on all, even upon the Government, and that Constitution guarantees to the miners, as it does to all citizens, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage and freedom from involuntary servitude.

"Your injunction, Sir, I respectfully submit, deprives the miners of these constitutional rights. As citizens the miners and I stand upon the rights guaranteed in the Constitution. This is labor's traditional position. For the purpose of acquainting the Court with the historical position taken by the American Federation of Labor, permit me to read a paragraph from a report unanimously adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its 1919 Convention:

"The fate of the sovereignty of American people again hangs in the balance. It is inconceivable that such an autocratic, despotic and tyrannical power can long remain in a democracy. One or the other must ultimately give way, and your committee believes that this convention should declare that, as wage-earners, citizens of a free and democratic republic, we shall stand firmly and conscientiously on our rights as free men and treat all injunctive decrees that invade our personal liberties as unwarranted in fact, unjustified in law and illegal as being in violation of

our constitutional safeguards, and accept whatever consequences may follow."

"This is still the declared and effective policy of the American Federation of Labor.

"We are now confronted with the restraining order issued by this Court November 18, 1946, which this Court holds that the United Mine Workers and I have violated. Most respectfully, I must state to the Court that the considerations that prompted our original course of action with respect to this coercive and all-embracing restraining order, issued without any opportunity given the defendants to present their side of the case, have not changed. On the contrary, recent events have greatly and acutely enhanced our initial conviction.

"Speaking and acting in my official capacity as President of the United Mine Workers, an organization composed of some six hundred thousand coal miners, and as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor with a membership of almost eight millions of American wage earners, and profoundly mindful of their highest traditions and basic rights I cannot, by action or by inaction, acquiesce in what must be described as the ugly recrudescence of 'government by injunction.' I cannot disavow labor's principles or policies, nor am I disposed to adopt a course which will inevitably amount to a betrayal of their constitutional rights.

"The mine workers are God-fearing, law-abiding American citizens. They have not ceased work in defiance of their Government. On the contrary they have asserted their rights as free men to protest the unjust and arbitrary acts to which they have been subjected by individuals employed by the Government.

"Without intending any personal disrespect to this Court, I must respectfully but firmly stand upon those vital rights and freedoms that are rooted in our Constitution and that have been given full expression by the Congressional mandates of 1914 and 1932."

The American Federation of Labor is entirely confident that this decision of the majority will go down in history as one of the most unjust decisions ever announced by the Court. We are persuaded that this decision will take its uncomfortable place alongside of such judicial outrages as the Dred Scott case, the Debs case, the Danbury Hatters case, and the Bedford Stone case. Even more important, we know that the American people when once they realize the actual holding and implication of the majority opinion, will not long tolerate its perpetuation. For, it not only is completely contrary to basic constitutional and common law doctrines to compel men to abide by void orders rendered

without jurisdiction, but also it is repulsive to the genius of freedom and democracy to compel obedience to such nullities.

The Taft-Hartley Act

It was suggested to me by President Green that the major portion of my talk to you at this convention be devoted to the Taft-Hartley Act. Although the Act has been in operation for but a few weeks, a great deal has been written about it. The legal publication companies have turned out a tremendous amount of literature pertaining to the Act. It has been termed a "lawyers' paradise," but I think it equally appropriate to designate it as a printers' paradise. My associates and I have made a detailed and complete analysis of the law at the request of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. We have also prepared five Bulletins to date dealing with some of the major provisions in the Act and the problems raised by it. These were printed by the Federation and have been widely distributed. In spite of all this literature and information, we receive at our office scores of inquiries from officers of unions for information and explanation concerning various provisions of the Act. We, the lawyers for the Federation, have held conferences with other lawyers concerning interpretations of the Act, and we are continually discovering new and even hidden meanings. Therefore, this being the first convention following the passage of the Act, it may be well to further elucidate on this all-important legislation. Of course, we cannot indulge in a question and answer forum at this time, but it is possible that we can set aside an evening during the convention at which the delegates desiring to be informed on specific problems can attend, and we may then engage in a question and answer forum for an entire evening. It is apparent to any person familiar with the basic provisions of the Taft-Hartley law that our entire approach to labor problems must be different since the passage of the Act than it was before the Act was passed. Our legal thinking will have to be new and different. Since 1932, when the Norris-LaGuardia Act was passed, and followed in 1935 by the Wagner Act, a certain labor philosophy was crystallized. We had reason to believe

that that philosophy would remain as a permanent foundation stone. The Norris-LaGuardia Act removed the fetters of the labor injunction. The Wagner Act affirmatively guaranteed to workers the right to organize. But ever since the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia and Wagner Acts, employers and their organizations have sought to repeal or cripple these Acts. It will be recalled that immediately after the passage of the Wagner Act the Liberty League lawyers, a group of employer lawyers, adopted a plan of universal attack upon the Act. They obtained over one hundred injunctions restraining the Board from proceeding to put the provisions of the Act into force and effect. They pretty nearly succeeded because the constitutionality of the Act was sustained by a five to four decision of the United States Supreme Court. I rather think that the decision would have been the other way were it not for the fact that the Court was scared into a more liberal approach to economic problems by the attempt of President Roosevelt to reform the structure of the Supreme Court. But even after the Act was upheld by the Supreme Court it was continuously under attack. It was hated and opposed by the majority of the Republican Representatives in Congress and by many Southern Democrats.

In 1947 a Republican Congress came into power. They felt that now was the time to destroy the Norris-LaGuardia Act as well as the National Labor Relations Act. They felt, too, that they could go very far in that direction, even so far as invading constitutional rights of workers, because, as I pointed out to you in the United Mine Workers' case, it was apparent that the Supreme Court was no longer disposed to be zealous in the protection of labor's rights.

Thus, the framers of the Taft-Hartley Act have ridden rough-shod over established constitutional rights and have created a new anti-labor philosophy in the form of the Taft-Hartley Act.

By the Taft-Hartley Act, "government by injunction" has been reestablished with a vengeance never dreamed of or practiced before.

By this law, the National Labor Relations Act's guarantees of the right to organize and to be free from employer domination are removed or so diluted as to be

practically worthless to workers and their unions; this is accomplished by including in the Act a code of unfair labor practices which may be charged to unions and thereby weaken and destroy them.

By this Act, damage suits against unions are encouraged, and the procedure for bringing them are facilitated so as to invade or destroy union treasuries by these judgments.

By this Act, the right to bargain for the closed shop or to bargain for welfare benefits, as well as other well-established conditions, is made illegal and, in some instances, made criminal conduct.

By this Act, the union checkoff is turned into a problem with many difficulties.

Under this law, political expenditures are prohibited to the point of outright denial of constitutional rights.

By this law the internal affairs of labor unions, to quite a degree, are taken over by the Government; in fact, the Government has undertaken to pass upon the reasonableness of union initiation fees, and to deny to foremen and supervisors the status of employees so they cannot have the protection the Act may afford to other employees.

This Act imposes procedures which will keep unions in constant litigation and in unlimited elections, all for the purpose of destroying union morale and to make it difficult for an organization representing workers to exist.

It is for that reason I say that our approach to labor problems and our thinking respecting them must entirely change from the past.

Clever Build-Up of Psychology for Senate Bill by First Passing an Allegedly Harsh Bill in The House

In order to remove the attention of the public from the drastic and unfair provisions of the bills, the Labor Committee of the House and the Labor Committee of the Senate undertook to present different bills. If customary legislative procedure had been engaged in, similar bills would have been introduced in both the House and the Senate, but the Hartley Bill in the House was framed along different lines than the Taft Bill in the Senate. Then the

reactionary press created a psychology that the Hartley Bill was a harsh bill, while the Taft Bill was a mild bill. Thus, the minds of the people were centered upon the difference in the two bills and diverted from the rottenness of both bills. The psychology worked. The attention of the public was diverted from the principles contained in the bills and directed to the issue that one (the Senate Bill) was a good bill, while the other (the House Bill) was a bad bill.

Unworkability of the Act

Now, there are some provisions of the Wagner Act which are incorporated in the Taft-Hartley Act. A few of these could still be of service to labor. The framers of the law, to make sure that labor will not benefit by them, rendered them unworkable. For instance, when a union brings a case before the Board it wants it speedily processed. In order to accomplish that, the old Board established a review section whereby records could be reviewed, condensed, and the particular issues submitted to the Board. The new Act abolishes the review section.

Equally necessary is a competent research division. The new Act abolishes the research division.

Sound and speedy administrative procedure requires a combination of administrative and judicial functions. The new Act separates the investigatory from the trial functions and vests the investigations respecting complaint charges in the discretion of an independent general counsel.

Under the old Act no fixed time was allowed in which to bring an unfair labor practice case against an employer as long as it was brought within a reasonable time of its occurrence. The new Act establishes a six-months statute of limitations. That is, if you have not discovered or brought the unfair labor practice within six months, then a charge based upon it is barred for all time.

Whereas, formerly, all the powers under the Act were vested in the entire Board, thus assuring careful consideration of the problems involved in labor disputes by all members of the Board, now a major portion of such powers are vested in one man, an independent general coun-

sel of the Board. Only a few days ago, Mr. Denham, the general counsel, addressing the American Bar Association at Cleveland, Ohio, referring to his own powers, said this:

"Much has been said about the broad and absolute powers and the finality of authority vested in the general counsel. Viewed from one standpoint, his powers are broad and absolute and his authority final to an outstanding degree seldom accorded a single officer in a peacetime agency."

Now, those are Mr. Denham's own words respecting his tremendous power. He is in some respects more powerful than the Congress or the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus, vast economic and social problems affecting the lives and destinies of millions of workers are vested in this one man under this Act. Why? I do not wish to infer any prejudice upon the part of Mr. Denham, but it seems to me that those who framed this Act, and who certainly were not friends of labor, felt that they could control a one-man appointee more so than they could control several members of a Board. This is manifested by the rebuke the President found it necessary to give the general counsel and some members of the Board when he had heard that Senator Ball and others expected to confer with him and his Committee regarding policies and procedures under the Act, and which I understand they were going to do. The President told them that the Board was part of the Executive branch of the Government, and under the Constitution they were to report to him and not to the Labor Committees of the House and Senate.

Further Unworkability Because of the Burden of Numerous Elections

Further unworkability is demonstrated by the tremendous amount of new work which has been imposed upon the Board by the Act. The new Board will have to, as the old Board had to, hold elections on petitions to determine who is to be designated the bargaining agent. Also, under the new law, employers can now file such petitions for elections in circumstances denied them before.

Elections must be held to secure authorizations for the union shop. This will involve thousands of new elections if

every union now holding a union-shop contract will, on its termination, desire to renew it. The Board must take a vote on the last offer of any employer in national emergency disputes. In addition to these new classes of elections, the Board must decide jurisdictional disputes and conduct hearings respecting the reasonableness of initiation fees. It seems to me that not only will a Board of five members be unable to handle the task imposed upon them, but a Board of five hundred, broken up into divisions of three each, would have difficulty in handling the job effectively.

Section 7—Foundation Stone of the National Labor Relations Act Guaranteeing Workers the Right to Organize—Is Horribly Mutilated

Section 7 of the Act is entitled "Rights of Employees." This section is the foundation stone of any labor relations act. It was the pivotal guarantee in the old National Industrial Recovery Act. It was the keystone of the Wagner Act. It guarantees to employees the right of self-organization. It protects the substantive rights of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. It frees them from the coercion and domination of the employer. But an amendment was included to Section 7 of the old Act by the Taft-Hartley Act. This amendment negates and destroys the rights and guarantees of the old Act, the foundation stone of the Act crumbles, and with it the entire structure in so far as labor's rights are concerned. The amendment was demanded by a Senator from Minnesota, who, by coincidence, is named Ball, but who—I can testify to the fact—has nothing on the ball. Senator Ball submitted and demanded and secured the passage of the following words as they affected non-union employees:

"Employees . . . shall also have the right to refrain from any or all of such activities."

This means that employees have the right and are encouraged to refrain from self-organization and collective activity; in fact, as I will show later on, it becomes an unfair labor practice to restrain or coerce non-union employees in their right

to refrain from organizing. By this language in this section, Senator Ball and his confederates hoped and sought and still seek to bring back the good old days of the open shop. This amendment to Section 7, more than any other provision in the Act, most forcefully and eloquently exposes what those who sponsored the Taft-Hartley Act had in mind, that is, to make this Nation an open-shop, industrial nation. It is the duty, business and function of a labor union to foster, promote, and urge organization among employees, but it is not the duty or function of an employer to urge, promote and foster non-organization of his employees.

Section 8—Unfair Labor Practices

Section 8 is devoted to unfair labor practices. This section of the Wagner Act has undergone a great and revolutionary change, to the great detriment of organized labor. This is the first time in national legislative history that there has been enacted an "unfair labor practice" code on the part of labor. But before I proceed to discuss those provisions of Section 8, dealing with unfair labor practices on the part of labor, it may be well to mention, briefly, the five unfair labor practices on the part of employers in the former bill and now retained in the present bill. It is an unfair labor practice for an employer—

1. To interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed in Section 7.
2. To dominate or interfere with the formation of a labor organization.
3. To discriminate against workers in regard to hire or tenure of employment because of union activities or affiliation.
4. To penalize a worker for filing charges.
5. To refuse to bargain collectively with a representative of employees.

There have been some material changes in these unfair labor practices on the part of employers, to the detriment of our unions. Formerly, under Section 8 (3) of the Act, the making of a closed-shop contract was not an unfair practice. Now, the making of a closed-shop contract is an unfair practice and it has, under this law, been entirely outlawed. Substituted for the closed shop is the so-called "union shop," that is, a contract may require as a condition of employment membership in

the union after the thirtieth day following the beginning of employment. Now, this section might as well be considered in connection with Section 9, which has to do with the selection and designation of representatives for collective bargaining. One may think that the "union-shop" provision is very fair and that unions should accept this as a real substitute for the closed shop. First of all, a careful study of the Act will indicate that it is so framed as virtually to deny a union shop because the procedures for securing it are made most difficult. Many employers can hire employees for thirty days and complete the job they want done in that time, and thus employ non-union men for the job. Certainly, that is true in building trades work—erecting simple structures, the making of masters for records, etc. So, many of these non-union employees will be persuaded not to seek membership in a union since their employment will be over in thirty days. Also, the union shop cannot be entered into by agreement between an employer and a union even if all of the employees are members of the union. An application must be filed with the Board by the union seeking the union shop, and the Board must take a vote. A majority vote of those voting does not prevail; it must be a majority of all eligible to vote. Thus, if the plant had 1,000 workers and 499 appeared at the polls, and all of them voted to authorize a union-shop contract, it still could not be entered into because 501 votes are necessary for the authorization of a union-shop contract. Not only that, even if a vote is had and a majority of all eligible to vote are in favor of a union-shop agreement, you still do not get it. All the vote does is to authorize the bargaining agent to bargain for it; the employer may still refuse to give it to you.

Then again, you must admit all applicants to the union on the same terms, and you can deny admission only for nonpayment of dues and initiation fees. The employer cannot discriminate against workers under a union-shop agreement if he has reason to believe that the union is not open to all applicants on the same terms, or if he believes an applicant was denied membership for any reason other than nonpayment of initiation fees or dues. The foregoing provision of the law is not only

malicious, but dangerous. It compels the union to take into membership stooges, spies, strikebreakers, Communists, or any other individual to whom the union objects if that person tenders initiation fees and dues, or, IN THE ALTERNATIVE, the union may exclude him from membership, but must not do anything in furtherance of excluding him from the job, and the employer must employ him or he, too, is guilty of an unfair labor practice. It may be asked, What if you don't take him in and you refuse to work with him? In other words, the union workers quit because this non-union man is employed. The quitting for that reason would be construed as unlawful compulsion of the employer to exclude a non-union worker from the plant. The union would be guilty of an unfair labor practice, and a cease and desist order would be entered against it, which, when enforced in the Circuit Court of Appeals, would subject you to fine and imprisonment for contempt if disobeyed. The cease and desist order may also carry with it penalties for back pay if the worker discriminated against has suffered a loss of pay; not only may the employer be ordered to make good this back pay, but the union, too, under this new law may be ordered to make good this back pay.

8 (3) (b)—Unfair Labor Practices by Labor Organizations or Their Agents

Perhaps it would be well to discuss a few of the outstanding unfair labor practices set forth in Section 8 (3) (b) on the part of labor organizations.

Supplementing Section 7, this section, again, makes it an unfair labor practice to restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights guaranteed in Section 7. That means, if union men or the union seek to coerce or restrain other men from going into the union, it becomes an unfair labor practice which you can be ordered to cease and desist, and under the procedure provided in the U. S. Circuit Courts, can punish you by fine and imprisonment. To show what may be construed as "restraint" or "coercion," under a similar provision in the Wisconsin Act, the Court construed the law to prohibit peaceful picketing for the purpose of inducing non-union workers to join a union.

It is an unfair labor practice for a union to refuse to bargain collectively with an employer; yet the law defines "collective bargaining" as not to compel either party to agree to a proposal or require the making of a concession. This bold statement in the definition of "collective bargaining" would seem to me rather to discourage than to encourage collective bargaining.

An interesting situation arose as a result of a policy declared by the International Typographical Union respecting bargaining. It decided that it would not compulsorily bargain with employers; that its members would work on certain terms and conditions declared by the union. Employers in Baltimore immediately filed an unfair labor practice charge against the union, alleging that it refused to bargain. I understand that the union denied that it had refused to bargain. However, I have given the matter some thought, and I believe that the I. T. U. was within its rights, and I believe that no unfair labor practice charge could be successfully maintained against the I. T. U. for refusing to bargain, if I understand the facts and circumstances correctly. After all, any union which refuses to bargain with an employer thereby announces by that fact that it does not want to be recognized or need to be recognized as the bargaining agent. An unfair labor practice can be charged only against the bargaining representative; not claiming to be the bargaining representative, which it does by refusing to bargain, it cannot be guilty of an unfair labor practice. A worker may be a member of a union, and his union may prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may work, but the employer cannot charge the union with an unfair labor practice if the union seeks no representation but merely declares its policy respecting wages, hours, and working conditions. I realize that a union must, in order to take that position, be well organized and strong, but it certainly is within the union's right, whether strong or weak, to refuse to become the bargaining agent for the workers; and thus no employer can successfully maintain a charge of unfair labor practices against a union which does not seek to act as representative.

The language of the law is quite clear. It reads:

It shall be an unfair labor practice for a union "(3) to refuse to bargain collectively with an employer, provided it is the representative of his employees subject to the provisions of Section 9 (a)."

One of the most important provisions relating to union unfair labor practices is that set forth in Section 8 (b) (4).

This section makes it an unfair labor practice to strike or induce others to strike or refuse to work, or induce others to refuse to use, manufacture, process, transport or otherwise handle or work on any goods, articles or materials, or to perform services where the object is—

- (a) to force or require any employer or self-employed person to join a union;
- (b) to force or require an employer or other person to cease using, selling, handling, transporting the products of any other producer, processor or manufacturer;
- (c) to force or require any person or employer to cease doing business with any other person.

Not only are the foregoing provisions unfair practices, but you will find them repeated in the prohibitions of certain boycotts. Similar provisions have been enacted in some of the States and are known as "hot cargo" laws. California enacted one, both by the legislature and by referendum. Only last Saturday a decision of the Supreme Court of California came down declaring the "hot cargo" law unconstitutional.

It is a splendid decision, and I hope to have an opportunity to analyze it for you in a few days hence.

We are hopeful that this provision of the Taft-Hartley Act will, when cases are presented to the United States Supreme Court, be declared unconstitutional. But the Act, as now written, in effect operates as follows:

- (a) The Teamsters cannot refuse to handle hot cargo material, and thus it is deprived of an important weapon of organization.
- (b) Carpenters cannot refuse to work on non-union trim.
- (c) Musicians cannot require chain broadcasting companies not to furnish music to an unfair radio station.

Jurisdictional Disputes

Section 8 (b) (4) (D), among other things, makes it an unfair labor practice to force or require

"... any employer to assign particular work to employees in a particular labor organization or in a particular trade, craft or class, rather than to employees in another labor organization or in another trade, craft or class, unless such employer is failing to conform to an order or certification of the Board determining the bargaining representative for employees performing such work tasks."

In other words, it becomes an unfair labor practice to compel any employer to assign particular work to employees in a particular union. This is a very serious matter. It will be observed that where there is no certified union with the right to perform particular work, the employer, in the first instance, chooses the union or workers he desires to perform the particular work.

In another section of the law (10(k)), it is provided that whenever it is charged that any person has engaged in an unfair labor practice within the meaning of paragraph 4 (D) of Section 8 (b)—and that includes the jurisdictional dispute—the Board is empowered to hear and determine the dispute. "Unless, Within Ten Days After Notice That Such Charge Has Been Filed, the Parties to Such Dispute Submit to the Board Satisfactory Evidence That They Have Adjusted, or Agreed Upon Methods for the Voluntary Adjustment of the Dispute."

The section is written so that it can be considered as a mandatory duty upon the Board to investigate and decide jurisdictional disputes which precipitate strikes or boycotts. The cases involving this unfair labor practice are given priority over other unfair labor practice cases. In a speech made by the Chairman of the Board, Paul M. Herzog, before the American Management Association at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City on October 2, 1947, just a few days ago, Mr. Herzog had this to say concerning jurisdictional disputes.

Mr. Herzog's Statement on Jurisdictional Disputes—October 2, 1947

"We are also beginning to explore the available techniques to resolve those jurisdictional disputes over work-tasks against which Congress directed Sections 8 (b), (4) (D) and 10 (k) of the new statute. This is going to take time, because these provisions represent the first effort by Federal law to cope with difficult prob-

lems which men more expert than ourselves have not always solved to the satisfaction of themselves or the community. Congress evidently intended that the Board should step into these situations only when the contesting parties do not succeed in adjusting their differences promptly by themselves. With this objective in mind, we are already doing what we can to encourage the labor organizations and employers in the building and construction industry to devise effective methods to resolve their own difficulties. We hope for the best. Meanwhile we are making it abundantly clear that the reserve power of the Government is not dormant. The new Rules and Regulations provide means by which the Board can proceed to hear and determine jurisdictional disputes whenever necessary.

"They will be handled substantially as follows: If two unions are engaged in a dispute as to which should perform certain work for an employer, and the dispute is calculated to lead to a stoppage affecting interstate commerce, a charge may be filed with the appropriate Regional Office of the Board. The case must be given priority over all other cases except those involving secondary boycotts and certain other offenses. (Sections 8 (b) (4) (A, B and C). If the charge appears to have merit, and the parties have not devised means to settle it themselves within 10 days of receiving notice from the Regional Office, an investigatory hearing will be held before an agent of the Board. On the basis of the record taken—which is likely to be highly technical—the Board will later certify which labor organization or class of employees should be assigned the work. If there is compliance with this finding, the case is closed. But if the certification is not complied with, the Board will issue a complaint based upon the original charge and proceed as in any other unfair labor practice case. The ultimate result may be a Board order, enforceable in the Courts.

"Meanwhile, if the situation seems to require it, an agent of the General Counsel may seek a temporary injunction in the Federal District Courts. There is, however, no requirement that such an injunction be sought, as there is in the case of secondary boycotts. Perhaps I should remind you that once a complaint has already issued, the Board may also seek immediate Court relief in the presence of allegations of other types of unfair labor practices. This last-mentioned authority, which is provided by Section 10 (j) of the Act, applies to employer unfair labor practices and not only to those chargeable against labor organizations."

It will be seen from the foregoing that there will have to be a liberal "give and take" policy on the part of unions which are involved in jurisdictional disputes if Board procedure is to be avoided and court injunctions circumvented. Not only that, but in some of the unfair labor practices to which I have referred, particularly

those unfair labor practices set forth in Section 8 (b) (4) and which are included in the boycott section of the Act, damage suits may be instituted by an employer against the union.

Restriction on Sympathetic Strikes. Crossing the Picket Line.

Those who framed the Act endeavored, by every means possible, to curtail the sympathetic strike. You will recall my having stated at the outset that we will have to revise our approach and thinking with respect to labor problems. The trade union movement is founded on unity, and this unity has been written into the Wagner Act and other acts by the phrase, "the right to organize for mutual aid and protection." But in every way and in every manner this law endeavors to circumvent and abolish that principle. For instance, let us take up the simple subject of crossing a picket line. While it is not unlawful for employees to picket their own employer in furtherance of a labor dispute and for the workers to refuse to cross their own picket line, there is a definite limitation on the right of workers of other unions as to their refusal to cross a picket line. It provides that workers of another employer may refuse to cross a picket line "if the employees of such employer are engaged in a strike ratified or approved by a representative of such employees whom such employer is required to recognize under the Act."

What the foregoing language really means is that the Teamsters, for instance, can refuse to cross a picket line set up by the Shoe Workers Union, only if the strike has been approved by the Shoe Workers Union and the Shoe Workers Union represents a majority of the workers in that unit. Thus, two conditions must coincide—the approval of the strike, and the union striking must represent a majority of the employees in the striking unit before another union may refuse to cross the picket line. The strike must be approved in accordance with the constitution of such striking union. A striking union without a majority is left to itself and no other union can come to its aid. If it does, then it does so at its peril. The "other" union

may be found to be encouraging an illegal boycott and be sued for damages, etc., besides being faced with an injunction.

Of course, individuals may refuse to cross the picket line as individuals, but the union may not order them to do so or take any affirmative action in that regard.

Jurisdiction Over Initiation Fees

There are one or two other unfair labor practices that I would like to mention very briefly. Section 8 (3) (5) of the Act makes it an unfair labor practice for a union to require of employees working under a union-shop agreement to pay an initiation fee in excess of what the Board deems reasonable. This section applies only to initiation fees, but it thereby vests jurisdiction in the Board over the internal affairs of an organization. It permits prospective members to file petitions with the Board, to declare the initiation fee to be unreasonable; its ultimate effect is to discourage the demand for the union-shop agreement so the union is not subjected to government interference with its internal affairs.

Featherbedding Practices

Section 8 (b) (6) makes it an unfair labor practice

"to cause or attempt to cause an employer to pay or deliver, or agree to pay or deliver, any money or other thing of value in the nature of an exaction for services which are not performed or not to be performed."

As I explained to you before, this is similar to one of the provisions in the Lea Act. We do not know as yet exactly what it means. We can surmise that it prohibits standbys, but what is a standby? An important question arising in connection with the foregoing is whether it will prohibit unions from asking for employment of additional help in the face of a statement that the employer does not want to hire it or need it. Also, what is an "exaction"? Since this provision can be made the subject of injunctions, we can anticipate considerable litigation as a result of that provision.

Termination Notices

The law provides that it is an unfair labor practice to terminate or modify a contract unless the parties seeking the termination—

- (a) Serve written notice of termination or modification 60 days prior to the expiration date.
- (b) The union must offer to meet for negotiation.
- (c) The union must notify the Federal Conciliation Service and State Conciliation Boards within 30 days after serving notice of the dispute.
- (d) The union must continue in force, **without striking**, the status quo for at least 60 days.

Thus, we have the notorious "cooling-off" provisions of the Case Bill and other bills which sought to establish that principle. We have taken the position that "cooling-off" periods serve as a strike-breaking machine; further "cooling-off" periods impose involuntary servitude because they hold a man to his work against his will. The principle is antagonistic to sound and established traditional labor policies; so here again is proof of the fact that we must revise our approach and thinking on labor problems.

Penalty for Engaging in Strikes

You may ask what is the penalty for engaging in a strike without notice or before the period of notice has expired. The law directs that any employee striking under such circumstances loses his status as an employee; he loses his job and all rights connected with it. Only if he is re-employed does his status as an employee revert. It should be noted that, where a contract has no termination date, sixty days' notice is required before the termination goes into effect.

Representatives and Elections

Section 9 of the Wagner Act dealt with the method of selecting representatives and the holding of elections for that purpose. There have been several changes and additions to this section in the new Act, and a number of new obligations have been imposed upon labor unions. The law per-

mits a majority in an appropriate unit to select their representative as the exclusive bargaining agent. That is similar to the provision in the Wagner Act. There has been added to this provision what I consider a joker. It is this: An employer, under the new law, can adjust grievances of his employees without the intervention of the selected bargaining representative. An opportunity must be given the representative to be present, but since the employer and the workers can adjust their own grievances without this intervention, it seems to me that an invitation for him to be present is merely an invitation to be insulted. Although the law provides that the adjustment shall not be inconsistent with the terms of the collective bargaining contract, nevertheless the employer can disregard the representative. Thus, it is an invitation to ignore and by-pass the representative in order to demonstrate to the workers that they do not need a bargaining agent.

Limitations on Selecting Representatives

The new law sets up certain limitations in the selection of representatives:

1. Professional employees must be set up as a separate unit unless they decide otherwise.
2. Craft units may be set up as a separate unit if they so desire, regardless of past history. This is about one of the very few benefits labor has received from this new bill. The old Board established what was known as the "American Can" doctrine, that is, once a craft unit was merged with an industrial unit, the craft status was lost forever. The new law remedies that situation and permits the craft workers to petition for their own unit at appropriate times and under appropriate circumstances, and will no longer be governed by the American Can doctrine.
3. Guards cannot be included in any unit which includes other employees or if their union is affiliated in any way with an organization that includes other employees. Carried out literally, this would mean that guards could never join an A. F. of L. union.

Decertification

Another provision found in Section 9, and a very serious one, is that which permits decertification. The law now provides

that petitions may be filed for decertification. A minority group of employees may request the Board to take a vote on the question of whether the representative is entitled to continue as the representative of the workers. I have been informed by a lawyer who represents many of our unions in the South, Mr. Warren Hall of Atlanta, that a number of employers in that region have already filed petitions for decertification. Thus, our unions can be kept in continuous confusion and difficulty as a result of this section.

Employer Demand for Certification

Employers are now permitted to apply for an election if employees who are members of only one union present to him "a claim to be recognized as the representative," as defined in Section 9 (a). This may result in a very serious impediment to the rights of organization. It is easy for an employer to induce a few stooges to claim recognition as exclusive bargaining agent. Naturally, stooge petitions will be presented in the infancy of organization, and the election will generally result in no bargaining agent being named. Under the present law, the Board will only entertain an employer petition when two unions claim a majority.

Unions Cannot Be Recognized Unless They File With the Secretary of Labor a Complete and Detailed Statement or Financial Report

The law sets up three conditions precedent before a union can invoke the jurisdiction of the Board to process

- (1) Petitions for certification as bargaining agent.
- (2) Charges for the issuance of a complaint against an employer alleged to have committed unfair labor practices.
- (3) Conducting a vote of employees to authorize bargaining agent to enter into union-shop agreements.

None of the foregoing can be undertaken by the Board unless a financial report on a form prescribed by the Secretary of Labor is filed with his department and a copy furnished to every member. We have received many inquiries as to how unions are to go about furnishing copies to every

member. The Board has, in the past few days, issued a form to be executed by the appropriate officers of the union stating that such financial report has been furnished to the membership. In this instance, the Board has approached the problem realistically. It has permitted unions to adopt four methods of compliance. The union filing the form, which is called a "certificate," has to indicate thereon the method it has employed in complying with this section of the Act. These are the methods unions may use:

1. The International Union may publish a copy of the financial statement in its paper or bulletin which is distributed in regular course to all the members of the union. Distribution may be at union meetings or by mail.
2. The International may supply its local unions with sufficient copies of its annual financial statement so that there will be available at union headquarters enough copies for distribution to all the members of the local. The local must announce that they have received such copies and that they are available for the members.
3. The International Union may, if it so desires, adopt the method of mailing a copy to each of its members.
4. A local union can post a copy of its local financial statement in a conspicuous place at its headquarters and announce at its regular meeting that copies are available for all members.

The Board does not really foreclose other methods that may be equally as complete as the foregoing. That I gather from the last paragraph of the form which says,

"If none of the above methods have been followed, describe in the space below the method employed by your organization."

What appears to me to be objectionable to the financial statement provision is that it requires so much detail as to make it necessary to employ a competent bookkeeper for many locals which do not have the funds with which to employ such help. Likewise, I am disappointed in the title of the form adopted by the Secretary of Labor. Nowhere does the law provide for registration. Nevertheless, he has entitled the form "Labor Organization Registration Form," and it is to be addressed to the "Office for the Registration of Labor Organizations, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C."

We have fought state registration laws, and since the law does not require labor organizations to register but merely to

furnish financial reports, the Secretary, in my opinion, should have used the words "Financial Reports." Registration and licensing go together, and labor is not prepared to submit to licensing. We have found in the state laws providing for licensing and registration, provisions for cancellation by the State of the license or registration, thus putting the union out of business.

Anti-Communist Affidavits

A second condition precedent necessary to invoke the jurisdiction of the Board is the filing of the so-called anti-Communist affidavit by officers of unions. Because of a ruling announced by General Counsel Denham, this provision of the law has precipitated quite a discussion. Mr. Denham has ruled that not only must the International officers file before a local union can be serviced, but that all the officers, including the Vice-Presidents, of the American Federation of Labor must individually file the anti-Communist affidavit before any local affiliated with an International can be serviced. We have protested this ruling. Members of my legal staff and I conferred with the Board at great length respecting it. We received no definite commitment from the Board, but Mr. Denham, who was present with all members of the Board at the conference, took the position that if we desired to contest the ruling we should institute an appropriate case and take it through the courts. That is exactly what we did not want to do. We protested the necessity for that procedure. That was the procedure adopted by the Liberty League lawyers and which tied up the operation of the Wagner Act for over two years. An invitation by Mr. Denham or anyone else to indulge in litigation each and every time there is a disagreement respecting the requirements of the law will mean confusion, chaos and the destruction of the collective bargaining process. It would be impossible to obtain a decision from the United States Supreme Court in less than six months and more likely a year. In the meantime, thousands of pending cases would be dismissed and new cases would not be processed.

We thereupon proceeded to file a petition with the Board, requesting it to pronounce

a true rule with respect to the filing of anti-Communist affidavits. We took the position, and we still take the position, that Mr. Denham had no rule-making power under the Act. Mr. Denham can decide whether he will process a case as each case is brought to him. It is not his function to announce a general rule, but it is the function and duty of the Board to make and pronounce such rules. Section 6 of the Act reads as follows:

"The Board shall have authority from time to time to make, amend, and rescind, in the manner prescribed by the Administrative Procedure Act, such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act."

Observe the language of this section. The Board is charged with the duty of making rules and regulations necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act; therefore it may make the rule respecting the processing of complaints, etc., which is an administrative function of the General Counsel. He may refuse to abide by it, but that is a matter for him to fight out with the Board. In the first instance, the Board is required to make the rules.

You know, it makes me laugh when I think of this situation between the Board and Mr. Denham. If it were not so serious, it would indeed be most humorous. This Act is devised to prevent jurisdictional disputes. An important section is devoted to that purpose. Yet the ink on the Act is hardly dry before the first jurisdictional dispute under it is between the Board and Mr. Denham. And although there are thousands of cases waiting to be processed, and over three months have elapsed since the Act was passed, it has not yet been resolved.

In addition to the foregoing, another humorous quirk in the interpretation of this law has arisen in that Mr. Denham has ruled that the Executive Board members of the C.I.O., who are elected at their conventions and who perform the same functions as the Executive Council members of the A. F. of L., are not required to file the affidavit—all on the technical basis that the C.I.O. constitution does not describe them as officers. Well, if that is not one for the comic strips, I do not know what is. But that is the situation, and until the jurisdictional dispute between the Board and Mr. Denham is resolved, those unions who find it necessary to ob-

tain Board service will be obliged to comply with Mr. Denham's ruling until it is changed. However, we should not pass up this opportunity to declare ourselves on the foregoing provision in the law on moral grounds.

With respect to the financial reports, assuming that that provision is constitutional, in order to be fair on that subject Congress should have provided, and should now provide, that employers shall likewise be compelled to furnish a financial statement, similar in form and detail as that required of unions, to every person employed by such employer. There is no reason why unions should have to furnish them to their members and employers should not have to furnish them to their employees. If union financial reports make interesting reading, I think employer financial reports will make equally interesting reading. Congress should be called upon to amend the law in that respect.

With respect to the anti-Communist affidavit, I will not make the same plea that employers be required to file the anti-Communist affidavit. The reason I am not doing so, and in this instance I am speaking for myself and expressing my own thoughts only, is that an anti-Communist affidavit should not be required as a condition precedent to invoking the jurisdiction of the Board or any tribunal. If Congress wishes to eliminate Communist influence from unions, then it should go about it directly. It should set up anti-Communist conditions for membership in a union. Of what good is this law which requires that the officers shall not be Communists, which means their ouster from office, but that members can be Communists, and provides that such members shall be protected in their membership or in their jobs? In fact, the protection of a Communist member goes so far that if the union, according to its own rules which prohibit Communists to membership, should expel a Communist member, that Communist member, if he loses his job on account of it, may sue the union for back pay. Not only that, he can go into court and obtain an injunction reinstating him in his job, and the employer is compelled to reinstate him and the union is prohibited by the injunction from interfering in any way. The provision is not honest, it is not decent, it is not moral, it is not fair.

Likewise, I condemn the provision because of its construction. Note the language. It not only compels an affidavit from officers of unions that they are not Communists, but that they do not believe in and that they are not members of or support organizations that believe in, or teach the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods. Carefully analyzed, that language will permit the creation of what has come to be known in totalitarian countries as "thought" police. Your very thoughts are policed and, if found to differ with or offend the political government in power, you can be punished, imprisoned or even liquidated for your thoughts.

The section does not discriminate between those unions which, by their constitutions, have already barred Communists as members and officers and those who have not done so. There certainly is no reason to require of the officers of unions that have provided in their constitutions against Communist membership, affidavits stating that they are not Communists. The section is a gross and colossal insult to the thousands of loyal Americans who are officers of our trade unions. No similar provision or demand is made upon members of the American Bar Association or of the American Medical Association or of the Engineers Society that their officers file such affidavits. Of all the organizations and institutions in the country, labor organizations alone have been chosen to comply with this distasteful, insulting and reprehensible provision.

Significant, Objectionable Provisions in the Law

I desire briefly to direct your attention to some significant provisions in the law to which you should give some thought.

Ceding Jurisdiction to State Courts

The law empowers the Board to cede its jurisdiction, under certain circumstances, to any State or Territory if it so desires. I have already referred to the six months statute of limitations. The rules of evi-

dence have been amended so as to make United States Court rules applicable. An important provision is that which permits orders for back pay not only against an employer but against the union who may be found responsible for alleged discrimination suffered by an employee or employees. No order for back pay may be made on behalf of an employee who was suspended or discharged for cause. (This is intended to pour cold water on the claim that a man was discharged for union activity instead of other causes.)

Facts must be found now on "substantial evidence on the record considered as a whole." That means that the reviewing tribunal can make decisions on the facts as well as on the law.

Injunctions

I told you at the outset that "government by injunction" has under this Act been reestablished in this Nation, and the Norris-LaGuardia Act virtually abolished, but I desire to point out the malice of the framers of these provisions and the reprehensible manner in which they went about returning "government by injunction."

Discretionary Injunctions

With respect to the unfair labor practices, the Board can, before hearing and trying the case, now apply for an injunction. Section 10(j) rests discretion in the Board to apply for injunctions. Now, this discretionary section applies to employers and unions alike, but Section 10(l) provides for mandatory injunctions and it applies only to labor unions.

Mandatory Injunctions

Section 10(l) provides that, whenever it is charged that a worker or his union has engaged in unfair labor practices within the meaning of 4(A), (B) and (C) of Section 8(b), the preliminary investigation must be made at once. If, after the investigation, the officer or regional attorney believes that the charge is true and that a complaint shall issue, he is commanded to apply to the Court for an injunction to restrain the union from committing the unfair labor practice.

The injunction, of course, can continue from this initial stage of the proceeding to its conclusion, which may be months and even years.

Employer Gets Free Legal Services

Formerly, an employer who sought an injunction against unions had to employ his own lawyers; the union had a chance in argument before the Court to defeat the applicant for the injunction. Now, the employer is furnished free legal service with government lawyers representing him, and a hundred to one assurance that the Court will grant the injunction sought.

State Anti-Closed-Shop Laws Supersede the National Act

Under the heading of "Limitations" there is a provision in the Act to the effect that—

"Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or Territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or Territorial law."

In plain, simple language this means that if any State has a worse law than the national law, and if the state law prohibits any form of union security, the employer is given the benefit of the state law. The provision is a definite encouragement to the States to outlaw any form of union security, even the union shop. The Machiavelian minds that drafted the Act overlooked nothing that would benefit their employer clients.

National Emergencies

If the President is satisfied that there is a threatened or actual strike in an entire industry or part of an industry which may affect health or safety, he may proceed as follows:

- (a) Appoint a Board of Inquiry to make a quick and immediate investigation and report to him.
- (b) Upon receiving the report, he can direct the Attorney General to seek an injunction in the United States Court to restrain the threatened or actual strike.

- (c) He reconvenes the Board of Inquiry for a further report. At the end of 60 days the National Labor Relations Board must hold an election of the employees of each employer involved in the dispute (within the next 15 days) on the question of whether they wish to accept the final offer of settlement made by their employer.
- (d) The injunction runs for another 5 days, or 80 days in all, and then is dissolved.

Suits by and Against Labor Organizations

This is a very dangerous part of the statute. It encourages suits for violations of contract between an employer and a labor organization and, strange as it may seem, "between labor organizations."

The worst feature of this provision is that the general restraints upon such suits, such as jurisdictional restraints, requiring diversity of citizenship, and that the amount involved shall be \$3,000, are abolished.

It makes the serving of summonses or subpoenas very easy by permitting service on any official or agent of a labor organization. "Agents" are very broadly defined, and damages may be awarded regardless of the Norris-LaGuardia Act provisions that the acts giving rise to the suit must have been actually authorized or subsequently ratified by the union.

Restrictions on Payments to Employee Representatives

This is the section that deals with the so-called "welfare funds." While it is an interesting section, I do not think time will permit a discussion of it at this time, except to say that, where employers make contributions to a welfare fund for the benefit of workers, there are strict limitations as to how the fund is to be set up, what it may be used for, and that it shall be jointly controlled by the union and the employer. I would suggest that unions interested in this subject procure a copy of the United Mine Workers' last agreement entered into with the operators, and you will find there a very excellent clause which may be used by those unions desiring to include a welfare clause in their agreements.

Boycotts and Other Unlawful Combinations

This is a most dangerous provision. You will recall my discussion of Section 8(3) on unfair labor practices. But unfair labor practices are merely enforceable by cease and desist orders, whereas under the boycott section of the law these unfair labor practices are converted into acts which constitute the basis of suits for injunction and damage claims at the instance of the employer, and he may bring the suit as the party plaintiff. The boycott section is numbered 303 of the Act. It provides that it shall be an unlawful boycott to strike or encourage anyone else to strike or to refuse

"to use, manufacture, process, transport, or otherwise handle or work on any goods, articles, materials, or commodities or to perform any services."

where an object thereof is—

1. To force or require an employer or self-employed person to join any labor organization.
2. Or to cease using, selling, handling, transporting, or otherwise dealing in the products of any other producer, processor, or manufacturer, or to cease doing business with any other person.

Nor can you strike to force or require any other employer to recognize a labor organization which has not been certified under Section 9 of the National Labor Relations Act. This would not prevent a minority group striking against their own employer.

Nor can you strike in support of a jurisdictional dispute, that is, where an employer has assigned particular work to other employees, unless the employer fails to conform with a previous certification. In other words, the employer can choose the workers (union or non-union) to which he wishes to give specific work. To strike him is an unlawful boycott for which you can be sued, and he can recover damages.

TITLE IV

CREATION OF JOINT COMMITTEE TO STUDY AND REPORT ON BASIC PROBLEMS AFFECTING FRIENDLY LABOR RELATIONS AND PRODUCTIVITY

This Committee is to be a roving Committee. There are to be seven members of

the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and seven from the House Committee on Education and Labor. This Committee has the power to examine into your books and do anything else it pleases. It is to make one report by March 15, 1948, and the final report not later than January 2, 1949. This is a very serious provision and one which the unions would do well to remember.

Individual Employee Cannot Be Compelled to Render Service

Almost the last provision of the Act concludes with a very dramatic subject, that is, the subject of slavery. This clause, more than any other, justifies the designation labor has given to this bill, namely, "The Slave Labor Bill." The provision reads as follows:

"Sec. 502. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to require an individual employee to render labor or service without his consent, nor shall anything in this Act be construed to make the quitting of his labor by an individual employee an illegal act; nor shall any court issue any process to compel the performance by an individual employee of such labor or service, without his consent; nor shall the quitting of labor by an employee or employees in good faith because of abnormally dangerous conditions for work at the place of employment of such employee or employees be deemed a strike under this Act."

Since the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment involuntary servitude has been prohibited. If this Act is to be construed that one man may quit his job and be free from a violation of the Act, but if two agree to do the same thing they may be punished, then it certainly violates the Thirteenth Amendment and reestablishes slavery in this country. For as Justice Brandeis said in the Bedford Stone Company case, where the stoneworkers were enjoined by injunction from quitting work,

"If on the undisputed facts in this case, refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by this law an instrument for imposing restraints upon labor which reminds of involuntary servitude."

I think that any fair-minded person will agree that a careful analysis of this Act spells nothing more or less than the return of slavery in these United States.

RE-REFERRAL OF RESOLUTIONS NOS. 70 AND 135

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce the referral of Resolutions Nos. 70 and 135 from the Committee on Adjustment to the Committee on Resolutions.

Chairman Shelley made an announcement with reference to the entertainment program, following which Secretary Meany read the following messages:

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

October 6, 1947

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

Permit me to extend to the American Federation of Labor greetings and best wishes for a successful convention.

TRYGVE LIE,
Secretary General
the United Nations.

San Juan, Puerto Rico
October 6, 1947.

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor Convention
San Francisco, California

The Union of Workers of the Electric and Irrigation Industries of Puerto Rico, affiliated to the Puerto Rican Free Federation of Workmen greets through you our fellow delegates to the convention with best wishes for a complete success in their undertaking.

JUAN A. RODRIGUEZ,
President.

SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:00 o'clock.

ADDITION TO COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT GREEN: I desire to announce the appointment of Delegate Dave Siegal, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, to the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Now I am pleased to announce the attendance at this session of the convention this afternoon of a visitor and speaker who will discuss a subject in which we are all tremendously interested

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

October 6, 1947

Greetings: On the occasion of the 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor I wish to extend to you and to the delegates to the convention by deepest gratitude for the splendid and most encouraging support you, Secretary George Meany and national labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have extended to the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons. Because of your endorsement of our aims and your inspiring testimony in favor of the Stratton Bill before the House Subcommittee on Immigration we were fortunate in obtaining the endorsement for the Stratton Bill from many national organizations and state and city bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Knowing that you have been deeply concerned with the deplorable condition facing the victims of all kinds of totalitarianism may we express the hope that this convention will take the necessary steps to make it possible for some of the unfortunate displaced persons of Europe to come to our shores for a new lease on life.

EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman Citizens Committee on
Displaced Persons.
33 East 36th Street, New York City.

Bombay, India
October 5, 1947

President William Green
A. F. of L. Convention
Public Auditorium
San Francisco, California

Heartiest fraternal greetings to Sixty-sixth A. F. of L. Convention from Indian Seafarers.

DINKAR DESAI,
Seamans Union, Bombay

At 12 o'clock noon the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2 o'clock, p. m.

—the subject of adequate housing. You, coming from your communities in different sections of the country know what a serious question this is, and it has become more serious each and every day, so I know you will appreciate this opportunity of listening to an address by one who is thoroughly qualified to speak on this subject.

I therefore take great pleasure in presenting to you now Mr. Lee F. Johnson, Vice President, National Public Housing Conference, who will bring to you his message this afternoon—Mr. Johnson.

LEE F. JOHNSON (Executive Vice-President, National Public Housing Conference)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and members of the American Federation of Labor, it is a great honor to appear before your convention today. I am here to talk about housing, which is a problem that we have not come to grips with on any front since 1937, except to talk about what should be done, and how it should be done.

It is doubtless presumptuous of anyone to talk with the American Federation of Labor on this subject, outside your own ranks. The National Public Housing Conference was born in 1931 to help solidify American public opinion to rid our cities of slums. One of the major forces in making that organization possible and insisting upon a citizens' group for housing was your own President, William Green. Without his aid and counsel, there would be no public housing program today. Your Housing Committee, under the chairmanship of Harry Bates and with Boris Shishkin as Secretary, is one of the few organizations that has been trying to do something to obtain adequate homes for all Americans. You have made the fight for slum clearance, for urban redevelopment, for better financing, for cooperative housing. But you haven't been able to get very far in the last few years—none of us have.

Today there is only one bill before the Congress on housing that makes any kind of sense, and that is S 866, the General Housing Bill, which was sponsored originally by Senator Wagner. You all know about it, you have appeared in its behalf before committees of Congress, you played a major role in drafting it. I can remember years ago when the National Public Housing Conference was acting as a consultant on thinking through the housing problem, the first great organization to come forward with a positive program to clear slums was the American Federation of Labor.

The other day I shared a platform with a noted city planner, and he made the statement that he was opposed to the philosophy of public housing, and I found myself agreeing with him. He was opposed to the philosophy because in a nation with our resources there should be a full economy, in which all persons who are willing and able to work should receive adequate compensation for their services, making slums impossible, and permitting each worker to obtain the decent shelter that every family is entitled to enjoy. But that just doesn't happen to be true. We don't have that kind of an economy.

Everyone, even among the enemies of a sensible and sane housing program, admits that our immediate need is for at least 1,500,000 homes a year, and most of them at monthly payments of less than \$60 a month. It is true that this year some 750,000 homes will be built, but try to find one that can be purchased for less than

\$10,000. Of course a large proportion of them are inferior houses, built below union standards. It is a wicked fact that we have done nothing to meet our housing crisis.

The irony today is that while the most conservative Congress in the history of this nation screams against socialism and public housing, we witness today the building of the largest publicly subsidized housing program in history. The \$10,000 and \$15,000 house that is being sold to veterans and workers, only because they are desperate for shelter, will one of these days come back to Uncle Sam, because the monthly charges will be too great for the average veteran and worker to handle when the present boom busts. Many reactionary Congressmen, and the real estate lobbyists for whom they speak, holler about "public housing" out of one side of their mouths, and at the same time demand government handouts to so-called "private housing."

In Washington we have an association of national organizations scrapping for decent housing measures. It operates from the office of the National Public Housing Conference. There are more than forty cooperating groups. The American Federation of Labor helped us to organize it. Both major houses of Labor participate. All national church groups, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Veterans Committee, the League of Women Voters, the United States Conference of Mayors, plus educational and civic groups. On that front, as a unit, we have attempted to do everything we know to get through the Congress a housing policy that makes sense. President Truman has sent at least nine messages to Congress following the program that you, and some of the rest of us, developed. But nothing has happened. Nothing is going to happen, until the people of America, right in their own back yards, take their own Congressmen to the woodshed, and pound some understanding into them.

You—every delegate to this great convention—you in your own community, working with all of the organizations and groups who believe as you believe, can work wonders, but you must give the kind of leadership that you give on the national front. The job of obtaining an adequate national housing policy must come from the cities and the farms. It is not going to be handed to you out of Washington.

I wonder how many of you are members of your local housing authorities and local planning commissions. You have the greatest stake of anyone in what those local commissions do, but in far too many cases they are controlled by the Real Estate Board and the Chamber of Commerce.

You realize, of course, that since 1939 there has been continuous work on the development of a national housing policy. The best minds in America have been focused on that task. Anyone with any intelligence at all knew that when the war was over housing would be a major problem. There were years of hearings by

Senate Committees, an irrefutable record of need was written. The Senate has tried to act, at least the Banking and Currency Committee has acted, by reporting the General Housing Bill, under the leadership of Senator Tobey (in my opinion, one of the great men in Congress)

But what do we have now? Four investigations going on. Joint Committees running around the country asking questions on a subject upon which they are thoroughly uninformed. The most important is the committee chaired by Ralph Gamble of New York, run by Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. They are not investigating anything. They reach conclusions, and go out and attempt to justify their previous statements and action. When the people failed to reelect Bob LaFollette in Wisconsin they gave us Joe McCarthy, who is doing a fine job of dancing to the music of the real estate boards. If the situation were not so tragic, we might be able to laugh about it. The joint investigating committee, as appointed, had a majority of 8 to 5 in favor of S 866, or reasonable housing legislation, which includes a substantial public housing program. But by clever foot-work, when Senator Tobey was unable to be present Mr. McCarthy was able to rule out the use of proxies in committee voting, and defeat the will of the majority. Now we have hearings conducted by the National Association of Real Estate Boards.

Has Labor been asked to present its case? I doubt it very much. We who represent the consumers of homes have not been asked to appear. Something is wrong, somewhere along the line, or those whose interest is the public's interest would be asked to advise a supposedly fact-finding committee. Perhaps after long conferences with the Home Builders, the Real Estate Boards and Chambers of Commerce, they may make a gesture of attempting to find out what the average person is thinking, the person who is doubled up, living with in-laws, families separated—but I doubt it. The present Congress has shown no inclination to be interested in the people, but only those who are able to buy and sell the welfare of our nation.

I find it a source of great humiliation to have to admit that all of us, banded together as we are, have taken a licking from the thirty-odd thousand members of the real estate board, and those who say "yes" to their antics in the United States Savings and Loan League and the Home Builders. Of course they spend \$10,000 to our one, but they have no membership to amount to anything, in comparison with what we represent. They are small, and rich, and influential. Their only interest is to get as much from this crazy housing market as is possible, and make very sure that future losses are sustained by Uncle Sam. It is high time that we did something about it, and in a very big way. All of the cards are held by you people from Pittsburgh, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, and Mobile. What are you going to do about it?

The National Association of Home Builders recently issued a pamphlet intended to show the marvelous job they are doing, and to explain the rising costs. The entire "alleged" study is worthy of considerable investigation, but the attempt was made to blame the high costs of housing on labor. They stated that: "The rise in on-site labor costs is reflected in a 117% rise in average weekly earnings of building construction workers since the 1935-39 period." The facts are that the "average weekly earnings" are of course not the way to measure labor costs, reflecting, as they do, changes in the number of hours worked, overtime pay rates, and bonuses, as well as wage rates. Labor costs are best measured by straight-time hourly wage rates which increased, not 117%, but 66.8% from the 1935-39 base period to 1947. Let that be compared to the 82% increase in total construction cost over the same period, which the Home Builders admit, and the 120% increase based on other indexes which are probably twice as accurate.

Labor costs cannot be blamed honestly for the tremendous rise in housing costs today. Of course there has been an increase, there must be, but the wage increase of building tradesmen is small indeed in comparison to the profits that are being taken all along the line by the privileged interests which are calling the shots in the Congress today.

We are faced with the unbelievable fact that an America that could produce millions of homes to house war workers, and carry on the fight we had to carry on, is apparently impotent in times of peace. The contribution that the building trades made in providing war housing is one that should be recorded as among the heroic deeds of the war. I know something about that because I was in there working with you. Homes were produced over night, not anything very fancy, but decent shelter, which made possible the employment of labor to produce tanks, ships and guns. That job was done by union labor. The houses were there in time to save the nation. And I ask myself sometimes, to save it for what? We knew that we had to do something about saving the democracy that we talked so much about, when peacetime came. We knew that the greatest and most immediate need would be for homes for returning veterans and their families. Most of them newly created families. We met and resolved and held conventions, and elected a Congress that is the complete tool of those who say that industry must be served first, that real estate operators must get their cut first, that the long fought for basic rights of labor must be reconsidered. We elected a Congress with all of the Tory instincts, but none of its enlightened self-interest. We, the people, are in a very bad spot today, and you and I have permitted it to happen. We have the potential strength of the vast majority of American voters—if we work as a team.

What do we do about it? First of all, we do everything in our power to get that

General Housing Bill, S 866, adopted, the kind of housing legislation that Bob Wagner has fought so valiantly to achieve. We become realistic and know that from this Congress we must get housing legislation, and we must anticipate some of their questions. We must anticipate those changes and have the answers ready. We are doing precisely that, working with the American Federation and other organizations.

I think that the formula that we have drafted together for urban redevelopment is good. I know that we must fight for it. I honestly believe that it is part of labor's job to achieve a rural housing program that makes sense. It is also our job to stick with the fight for lower monthly housing costs, which will permit your friends and mine to live in the kind of homes that they not only desire, but are entitled to occupy. These will be built by private capital, but they require longer periods of amortization and lower interest rates. In today's market with price controls, and all of the standards we fought so hard to maintain tossed out the window, our only immediate hope is to get present monthly costs down. We continue to slug for cooperative housing, and for rental housing at low cost.

It is our job to return to the housing crusade of 1933 through '37, when the American Federation of Labor spear-headed every fight for decent homes and won. We hate slums, and all that they mean. It is our number one job to get rid of them and see that the families, who through no fault of their own have been forced into impossible living circumstances, are given a decent place to live. One of the important factors in the construction of public housing is that it requires the payment of the going Federal rate of pay. The result is that all jobs are union constructed. I honestly believe that it is one of the jobs of the A. F. of L. to make very sure that such a policy continues.

It has not been my assignment to quote a lot of figures, because figures are forgotten on the instant. I am trying, with all my heart, to make it everlastingly clear that a majority of our people are without adequate housing—many even without minimum decent shelter! When the tough days come, and they are sure to come, the building trades will benefit from the construction of an adequate public housing program. But far more than that, I am interested in, and I know that you are also, those families who without your help can never escape from slum conditions.

Your Housing Committee is not only alert, it represents you and all citizens everywhere. But on the local front, in our cities and towns across the country, we have not always done the kind of fighting job that we could have, and should have, done. I know that the American Federation of Labor is just as concerned with housing as with any other domestic issue. But Congress has not yet felt the full impact of your influence!

These are times when trade unionism is again on the march. I am sure that, as this march progresses, the tradition of the A. F. of L. in its fight for decent housing will be part of your goal.

Let me conclude by saying that we who fight in the public interest have taken a licking from the real estate lobby. Even the President of the United States has branded this lobby as subversive. Let's not fool ourselves, they have thus far whipped us on every front.

Our job is cut out for us. We represent the people. Even with the best kind of break and the passage of a General Housing Bill, it will be months before dirt is flying and bricks are being laid. Number one, we fight for the passage of Senator Wagner's housing program. Number two, we must meet new issues and write the ticket ourselves, and not be forced into compromise by those who would kill every attempt for a decent housing program. We who believe in the rights of labor, in the rights of all Americans, cannot now take another licking from those who would destroy the kind of democracy we fight to preserve. . . . We in the National Public Housing Conference feel that we are a part of labor. We look to William Green and Harry Bates and countless other leaders who represent the force through which our efforts may be effective. We are proud to be closely allied with labor. I am proud to have been invited to talk with you today. . . . We must not, we shall not, stop our fight for adequate homes for all American families until the American people have won!

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Mr. Johnson for his visit with us today and for the address which he delivered. We do not wish to, nor will we remain passive so long as our homeland is a homeless land. We shall concentrate our efforts toward the development of a housing program that will mean adequate housing facilities for the homeless of our land.

I know that the message which Mr. Johnson brought us this afternoon will be studied by you, that you will regard it as educational and might be helpful.

Please accept our thanks for your message.

Now, our next guest speaker responded promptly to the very warm and cordial invitation I extended him in your behalf to attend a session of a convention of the American Federation of Labor. He is the chief executive of a great, progressive, growing and expanding city in the Northwest. I recall when the Mayors' Conference was held in the capital city of our country that he was one among all the mayors in attendance at this conference

who arose and defended labor, spoke as its friend, advocated the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, and showed himself on that occasion to be an understanding executive of a great city, one who was in accord with the philosophy, the plans and policies of the American Federation of Labor. I know he will bring to us a most interesting message. He is a progressive, forward looking mayor, in a great, growing, thriving city in America, Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Mayor of the City of Minneapolis.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

(Mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota)

Thank you very much, President Green. Delegates to this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor: Believe me, I appreciated that fine introduction from your honorable President. I am one of those younger men in public life and I have grown to have a high esteem and high regard for the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, and in my own community. I look upon our Minneapolis Central Labor Union of the American Federation of Labor groups as some of my staunchest and truest friends in political action.

It was a great pleasure for me today when I came into this hall to find out that in the outside corridor was not only the representative of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, Mr. George Phillips, but also a fellow citizen from the City of St. Paul, which is our friendly rival, the Secretary of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Mr. Lawson, and then to see a fellow citizen from that great port city of Minnesota—Duluth,—Robert Olson, the President of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor. I guess this is about the only way I can ever find my constituents, is to chase them around to these national conventions. I have a difficult time ever finding any of them home, so I made up my mind when you are in politics you go to the voter, you don't wait for the voter to come to you.

It was only about a month ago that I was in this same hall as a listener and as a friend of the great convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. That was a great experience for me, because I am of the opinion that far too many people in public life fail to attend these great meetings of their friends of labor. I found out that when you become a public official you are wined and dined, that you get on the knife and fork league, circuit run, that you go to the athletic club, that you go to the big banquets, that you sit in with

the top men of industry, that you are invited in with the bankers and with all the leading lights of the community, and before you know it you begin to think that maybe you are one of them and you forget sometimes just who you are to represent. You become a little intolerant, let me say, of other people's point of view and you sometimes fail to see the full picture of the total community.

I consider it then a high privilege to be invited to attend this great convention of the world's greatest labor movement—the American Federation of Labor. I consider it an educational experience on my part, a part of just becoming a mature citizen and of learning how to be a servant of the people, because in this country today we need people in public office who can take bread with men and women of all walks of life, who can respect the other fellow's point of view, who can sit down and talk with them from all segments of the community and who can, at the same time, come away from those meetings with their own convictions, their own ideals, and yet at the same time with a broadened experience from the information that they receive.

When I was elected to public office I had the support of organized labor. I had that support three times. Two times we were successful, and today in this hall there are people who are my friends and my campaigners. Today in this convention hall there are people whom I invited to serve in municipal government, because I believe that you should not only look and hope for the support of people in labor, but once you have been elected to office you should have the faith and the confidence to entrust them with responsibility. I found all too many of my fellow politicians who say: "Well, we are going to be friendly this time to labor." They appoint a committee of twenty-five men and they put on that committee twenty-four leading businessmen and one labor man. They call it fifty-fifty. We don't do that way in Minneapolis, Minnesota. We never believe that it is fifty-fifty,—one horse and one rabbit. We believe that if you appoint committees and if you have representation in government it should be on the basis of one man to one man, one woman to one woman. We have practiced the policy in municipal administration of bringing into our municipal government people who represent the working people of our community and entrusting them with responsibility, knowing that they will act responsibly. I have found that to be successful.

Minnesota, like many other states in America, represents what I call the American pattern. What do I mean by that? We have great cities, we have rich and productive farm areas. We have thousands of our workers that are organized in the labor movement. We have thousands of workers or farmers that

are organized in farm groups. We have private industry, productive private industry, and we have great and powerful and productive cooperatives, consumer cooperatives, producer cooperatives. It is in a state like Minnesota where I say that industry and farm economy blend together, where the great city and the farm areas become as one. And I submit to this convention that successful political action from here on out in America will be determined on the ability of men in public life and men in positions of leadership to successfully understand the inter-relationship between the man that works in the shop and the factory and the person who works in and with the soil, the farmer and the worker, the business man and the community leader. That is what we are going to have to learn if we are going to be successful.

I have been one of those who have gone up and down the state trying to talk the philosophy of interdependence. Yes, I believe in individualism. I recognize the valuable traditions of our way of life, but I also believe that if you are going to have a rich and productive farm economy you must have a fully employed industrial economy. If you are going to have high prices for butter and for wheat and for corn you must have high wages for the worker in the factory and in the shops. I sometimes get a big kick out of telling some of our people that after all, particularly when I am out in the farm country, that their best friends ought to be these workers that we have—these electrical workers, these milk wagon drivers, these boiler-makers, these sheet metal workers, these fellows who are in the skilled crafts, because, after all, they are the ones who have the families, and it is their sons and daughters that eat the pork chops and like the oatmeal and cream of wheat; that most of the time those who become presidents of the great corporations have been so successful that they have been afflicted with ulcers and they are just not good customers for farm products; that this ordinary guy, this little fellow that you often times don't hear so much about is the good cash customer of the delicatessen, the meat market and the grocery store, that he is the one that consumes the produce on the farm and helps to make the economy prosperous. Likewise, I like to tell my friends in organized labor that after all, if we are going to sell their products they manufacture and that they process, they have to see a healthy farm economy, that that interdependence is there. It is only the hypocritical politician that would divide and conquer, that would be guilty of going to the farmer and telling him that the worker is his enemy, and then going to the worker and telling him the farmer is his enemy. If there ever was a kindred soul spirit that should exist between men and women in America, that is where it should exist, between the men and women working in the shops and the factories and the men and women

working on the farms, on the land in America. They belong together.

You know, friends, we have been living through some rather difficult years. I suppose that is a mild understatement. I am not going to talk to you about the catastrophic events of recent days, I am not going to tell you that it has been just one emergency after another. A lot of the oldtimers come to me and say, "Well, we'll have to wait until we get back to normalcy." I have often wondered what they really meant—they always want to go back some place. My grandfather, a very interesting person, was in the Dakotas in the 90's, and he used to tell me about that great snowstorm in 1896, and every time he told me about that snowstorm the snow got a foot deeper. The further we got away from the good old days the better they seemed to be. But no matter how good they are, they are never going to come back.

My young life has been spent in a period when I saw strange things happen. I went through the period of "heartless with Harding," and "coolness with Coolidge." I remember the days when two-thirds of all the banks in my home state were closed. I heard about prosperity being just around the corner, when just around the corner our hungry relatives were waiting and ready to move in. I heard about all these good things, but I saw farm mortgage foreclosures and I saw good people become poverty-stricken people. I saw newspapers and commentators saying that those people were undesirable, that they were reliefers, they never would work, they never wanted to work, just never had anything to offer, and yet I lived to see those people become the great defenders of the arsenal of democracy, to see their sons and daughters march off to war and go into the war plants and produce the elements and instruments of war, and go out on the farms and produce the food that was necessary. In other words, when things were brought together and the economy was somewhat near regulated and normal, they were good citizens then, they were productive American citizens.

I have also seen the same thing happen in politics. I know most of us are thinking about that 80th Congress, that Congress of 1946. We are thinking that somehow or other that is when it all happened. It is just like the fellow feels when he proposes to his girl friend: That is the only time he has done anything significant. But listen, he has been working up to that for a long time and he just got the courage, either that or he was in a swoon and didn't use good judgment.

We have been working up to 1946 for a long time. We started a long, long time ago. They just got the courage this last year, that's all, but in 1938 the tide began to turn. The House of Representatives began to take on a different complexion. Liberals and Progressives and true American progressivism were defeated in that election. Legislatures began to

change. The representatives of the working men and women, of the people who were tilling the land and working in the small businesses were ousted out of office. Legislatures started to pass anti-labor legislation; sales taxes and other means of what I call retroactive taxation were made law. Your legislatures in your home states began to reflect the image that was soon to come in a national way.

Then the great war came. We went to work together, and regardless of politics we had a war to win, and progressive politics had to be set aside. We hoped that all politics were set aside. But the people who were your enemies, the people who thought you could exploit America, the people who had no interest in human values, but were dedicated to property values, were slowly but surely laying the ground work for their great day of triumph. That day of triumph came in the elections of November, 1946. We were tired—tired of war, tired of regulations. There were many inequities that had crept into society during the war. We were tired of regulations upon labor, tired of regulations upon business, and people were anxious to get away from these restrictions that they had been under so long.

Election day is a national holiday. Election day in many of the great centers was looked upon as a day of vacation. So the workers of America went fishing and the reactionaries of America went voting, and you have been suffering ever since, every one of you.

We did not lose the election—somebody else won it. We did not lose it because we did not participate. Oh, yes, we put up shadow-boxing contests, we had a slight smoke screen, we went through the gymnastics of politics, we filed candidates and some of us spent money furiously six weeks before the election, thinking they were going to convince somebody, but the American people are intelligent people and not easily fooled. They do not make up their minds six weeks before the voting, they make up their minds over a long period of time, and the political opposition of progressive democracy has always known that. They are smoothies, they work out a program when you don't even think it is going to be worked out. They are something like the woodpecker—he just keeps bouncing away at the old log, and after a while it breaks in two. There isn't any general mass movement to see whether it can be sawed in two in two lessons. They just spend the time working on it.

And I submit to my friends in this labor movement that the greatest mistake made by the people who believe in progressive government is that somehow or other they feel they have the truth on their side and all they have to do is to utter it a few weeks before election and everything is all right. That just doesn't happen. We are still on the defensive, and it is high time we stood still for a moment, giving the command for "about

face" and giving the command to our political brigades to start to move—not tomorrow, but right now.

Maybe we need to be encouraged a little more. I said to your President, Mr. Green, at the Minnesota State Federation of Labor Convention, that I was one of his champions, that I had heard him address great gatherings over the radio, and during these last few months I had heard him again, and believe you me, if there's any such thing as a man coming up with new vigor and new vitality, the President of the American Federation of Labor has demonstrated that.

I opposed the Taft-Hartley Bill before it was enacted. I spoke on a national network against it, and I am against it yet. I am not like some of those that were running around when it was being voted for and said, "Be sure to vote for it," and after it was enacted, saying, "Maybe we ought to amend it." And they are saying now it is too tough here and it is too tough there. But when the vote was being counted, they said, "Vote for it."

Don't forget it, friends. They have religion now and they will have more religion the closer they come to the elections of 1948. It beats all how people want to cleanse their consciences about that time.

I don't need to tell you about the Taft-Hartley law, I don't need to tell you that it is a basic denial of free speech. I don't need to tell you that the two great achievements of the last Congress were the Taft-Hartley Bill and their unsuccessful effort to have tax reduction, a tax reduction that would give me a reduction of \$30 a year and a reduction of \$100,000 to Wall Street. I don't need to tell you what has happened to prices in America. Just a little over a year ago a certain organization in this country known as the National Association of Manufacturers was pointing out that all we needed to do was to take off all the controls and let organized business run the country like it wanted to run it, and production would come up and everything would be wonderful, prices would come down and everybody would live in peace and security, everybody would have plenty of money for everything. Do you remember that, or have you forgotten that? Now they are trying to say they never said that. Every newspaper in America carried full-page advertisements and the 80th Congress of the United States did take off price controls, and did permit this country to go into a spiral of inflation, and it did at the same time pass anti-labor legislation. At the same time they tried to see to it that those who were rich became richer and those who were poor had just a little bit more poverty than they had before.

You know what has happened to real wages. Real wages have gone down. That is not a political statement, that is an economic fact. Corporation profits since 1946 have gone up from \$11,000,000,000 to over \$17,000,000,000, and from 1940 they

have gone up from \$5,000,000,000 to over \$17,000,000,000. Those are facts.

Those who have want more and those who have not anything are not going to get anything. That seems to be the program today.

What else have we? We are today in a spiral of inflation which can ruin us, — because you know the only people that can stand inflation are those that have so much they can't possibly lose it all, and when the deflation comes along they buy up at low prices, so they have twice as much as they had before. Those who can't stand to lose it pay twice as much as they paid before, which is nothing.

The people I know in the labor movement, my father, a small business man—do you know what will happen to them? They will be victimized in high prices. Forty-five per cent of the savings of the workers have already been spent since the period of the war. An average wage of \$49.50 today has an actual purchasing power of \$29.50 under 1941 prices. Real wages have decreased during this past year by almost six per cent, as compared with the earnings of the workers. These are meaningful subjects, and you are not going to wish your way out of this one, gentlemen, you are going to have to work your way out of it. Government today has a lot to say about what we do and what we don't do on the farm and in the factory. When America's top soil was blowing away in the period of the war, when we didn't have time for soil conservation and soil erosion, when we bled the soil of America black and white, what did the last Congress of the United States do? It reduced the appropriation for soil conservation and soil erosion control. It was almost in the process of eliminating flood control and then God Almighty came along and provided a flood in the Middle Western States and Congress said, "Maybe God is right and we are wrong," and then Congress got busy and made an appropriation.

Well, you know back in the good old days, if we can talk about those days of the New Deal, when we had a Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the White House, back in the days when you people were electing the Congressmen who spoke for the people and Senators who spoke for the people, and not the National Association of Manufacturers and the Real Estate Lobby, we built a TVA, a great power project, a great irrigation project.

I come from a section of America where we need some of that. I believe that this last Congress, if it was really interested in the protection of America's homes and physical resources, if it really wanted to make America strong, if it really wanted to preserve the heritage that is ours, which is the people and our land, it would have done something about Missouri Valley, it would have given to us what they have given to the Tennessee Valley. But no, we didn't get around to that because maybe there were some people who didn't want hydro-electric power

that could be sold cheaply, some people who were not quite interested yet in whether or not we should have irrigation for millions of acres of semi-arid land, some people who were not quite sure that we ought to have soil erosion and flood control.

The only way we can get these things is to go to work, and that does not mean just in the shop and in the factory. I believe in the forty-hour work week. I believe we have to produce in America, and I believe we ought to have labor-management relations free and unfettered from all sorts of legislative restraints. I believe we have to demand of labor responsible collective bargaining. I believe we have to demand of labor that it keep its own house clean in every sense, clean of foreign ideologies, fascism and communism, and clean of any type of internal corruption.

American business has talked a great deal about free enterprise, which means freedom for two parties, not just one; free enterprise means there must be a giving and taking spirit of cooperation, collective bargaining without a judge, a lawyer and a government tribunal sitting on top of you all day and all night. That is what we mean by free enterprise, and I believe in that. I believe that is the best way, but I submit that those who talk the most about it don't believe in it at all. They believe in it for themselves, they say freedom for me, but for you, well, we are going to handcuff you, brother, and then we will see whether or not you would like to have a boxing match. That is not freedom.

I say to this audience that these past years have seen the breakdown of progressive political action in America: Mr. Lee Johnson, a friend of mine who just spoke to you a moment ago, talked to you about housing. Housing in America is a national disgrace. A nation that could have produced what we produced for war, a nation that could give away \$50,000,000,000 in lend-lease and \$400,000,000,000 for war expenses, a nation that could send fifty million men into the armed services, and a nation that could build barracks, cantonments, etc., overnight in the prairies of the Dakotas and Minnesota—you can't tell me that nation can't build houses. It can build them. But we were in the period of the post war. The war was over, hostilities had stopped, that is all, but peace had not come, and just as we wanted the helping hand of government to help us win the war, we needed it to help us survive through the peace.

There is a lot of bitterness in America today among young men and women, young people who want to have families, and it is a bitterness toward a government that has seen fit to hand out pensions and bonuses, but has not seen fit to help in a concrete program of shelter and housing for the American people. I call upon the American Federation of Labor to get behind the Wagner-

Ellender-Taft Bill, to get behind that piece of legislation and to demand from your Congressmen and Senators that it come out of committee, and that America offer homes as well as advice to its young men and women who are the heroes of this generation. You can do it, gentlemen.

Yes, we need leadership these days, we need lots of it. Do you know what kind we need? We need leadership that is willing to stick to the truth, a leadership that is willing to say that high prices today are not necessarily the result of one group. There were some Democrats who were just as guilty as the Republicans. We have special interests on both sides of the fence, you know. We need people today who are willing to frankly stand out and tell the American people that this country does not belong to any one segment or organized group, and I call upon my friends of organized labor to offer that kind of leadership.

Here is what I have to say about it. I know you are against the Taft-Hartley Bill and so am I, although maybe I don't know a great deal about politics. I don't think there is any special formula to know something about politics. All these wise people that have all the political "savvy"—they can't generally get their own wife's vote. Politics is being able to gain the confidence of the people and not break that confidence. The best politics is honest politics, the best politics is integrity in public office. That is the best kind of politics in America. The only time you have to be afraid in public office is when you are a liar, a hypocrite or a thief. You may be defeated on other terms, but you need not be afraid.

Gentlemen, we are not going to win elections in a spirit of vengeance or anger, it can't be done. Remember this, the people who voted for certain legislation that you don't like did it because they resolved to get even with you. They said, "This is going to be our day. Labor has had too much in America and we are going to get even."

Thousands and thousands of Americans today know that and they don't like that spirit, because the American people are fair-minded people, they are decent people, and if organized labor is going to say, "Now, look, we are going to get even, we are going to destroy everybody that ever voted against us, and that is all the program we have to offer," you are not going to get even with anybody. You can't win on that basis. You can win on the basis of a positive, dynamic, understandable American domestic and foreign program. You can't win by being for something and against something else, and I ask every man in this room who goes back to his city or state to keep this thought in mind, that if we are going to win in America and for the good of America, not just for the sake of power, we have to have a program that

meets the needs of all the people, not just the laboring people.

We have to be thinking in terms of the farmer. There are more important ones than there are rich ones, my friends, and they have had dark days—plenty of dark days. They may be having some good days now, but they are finding out that they are being out-phenagled every day by the speculators and they are our friends, these farmers. We need to have a program that comes from the great leadership of labor that talks in terms of the basic needs of farm economy. Listen, if there are electric lights in the cities and towns of our states they are good enough for the people that live in the rural sections of our state. Every farmer in America deserves the privilege and opportunity of having electric lights in his home, and that ought to be our program right off the bat. If electric washing machines and electric flat irons are good enough for the factory worker's wife and the business manager's wife, then they are good enough for the farmer's wife, too.

Johnny isn't going to go back on the farm unless the farm is the kind of a place where he can live the American way of life. We need to remember that while we may not be close to the soil we have to think in terms of the productivity of our land because it is still our basis of economy.

This American labor movement must become the champion of the public educational system in America, and I refer to that as one of the greatest opportunities that has ever been given to be a champion of public education. It was through the American labor movement that free public education came to the American people, and today, friends, that instrument of that institution of democracy is being seriously threatened.

Thank God for the American Federation of Teachers who have the courage to go out and fight the battle for decent salaries for professional people in the teaching profession. We need over \$5,000,000,000 spent on our public schools to bring them up to where they can enjoy what you call standard educational facilities. We need 500,000 more teachers to take care of our sons and daughters.

We hear people today saying that they cannot afford to send their children to private schools. I must depend on public schools. My Nancy and my Skipper and my Bobby, all three children have to go to public schools, and I want those public schools to be the best that democracy can afford.

It is our friends and sometimes our families that need medical and health protection. There are only two that can afford it today—the rich and the real poor. Those in between have a difficult time. We need thinking in terms of a broad program of medical and health protection for the American people. We likewise must remember that we have other friends. We have friends in the cooperative movement of today, and I am thankful that your President has spoken

out in behalf of the cooperatives in America, because there are attacks being made by the same people that went after you. The same gang that was out to put the noose on the labor movement is out today to put the string and the noose on the cooperative movement of America.

Now, the farmers of America—many of them belong to the cooperatives—and believe you me, they are going to understand when somebody takes after them. Labor and cooperatives should be friends, and may it ever be so.

Gentlemen, we need to have a philosophy of politics in these days, a real philosophy, not just to win but win for what? We are living in a world that is threatened today by totalitarianism, and every man and woman in this room knows it. This isn't a peaceful world. We are living in a world with the greatest instrumentality of world peace—living a very precarious and perilous existence—the United Nations. We are living in a world when we must have a positive, living philosophy. I don't know, but I know something about interpreting one that we have had for a long time. Just let me repeat it for you, and this isn't the Fourth of July. This is the 8th day of October, San Francisco; not July Fourth, Philadelphia.

"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal and they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments are instituted among men to secure these blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for ourselves and our posterity."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the only new thing that has been said in politics in 2,000 years. That is real news in politics.

Now, let's see what it means. "We hold certain things to be self evident." We are not going to sit down here and argue about this and about that. There are some things that we hold as truths to be self-evident. What are they? That all men are created equal. That is why we don't believe in concentration camps. That is why we do not believe in anti-Semitism and bigotry and racial intolerance. We believe that all men are created equal, equal in the eyes of their God, equal in the laws of their land. The labor movement of America has believed that, and as long as it continues to defend this and believe it, it will be a very significant factor in American life.

It also goes on to point out that we that we must believe that we cannot tolerate second-class citizenship even in our midst. I submit to this audience that America can no longer afford the extravagance and waste of relegating certain numbers of their members or citizens because of their color, because of their creed, to secondary class citizenship. And the labor movement should stand up and speak out on it.

In my community we have the Fair Employment Practices ordinance, and we passed and set up a Fair Employment Practices Commission. Oh, I know you

don't do these things overnight. I am not that foolish. It takes ten years to get ulcers and it takes just about as long to get over them. I used to work in a drug store. I would have a lot of people come in for prescriptions. They would get a prescription, and you would give them those big white pills that they would take and then two or three days later they would return and would be complaining that the medicine was no good. They would say, "I have taken those doses now for two or three days, and my stomach is as bad as ever." He spends ten years over-eating or drinking or smoking—it took him ten years to get the doggoned ulcers, and he expects to get over them in two or three days. It takes as long to get over these troubles we have.

I say it is the job of the American government and the American people to set a standard and to rally around that standard and do everything that we can to live up to it. You see, democracy isn't a structure. Democracy is a spirit. It is a set of attitudes, and it takes a long time to build attitudes, a long time to create habits. What kind of spirit is it? I will tell you what kind it is. It is the spirit of Bobby Burns, the poet—"A man's a man for a' that." It is a spirit wherein you recognize that everybody has something to contribute to this life—some much and some little. All of us have certain talents, certain abilities, and that the test of a democratic structure of government or democratic society is to let every man use what he has for his good and the common welfare, to release the ability and the capacities that are within us. That is a job of democracy, and we fail whenever we deny any man the right to participate to the best of his ability. America can no longer afford to keep certain people from participating. We need their help these days. We needed them to die for democracy, didn't we? We needed them when we had to fight for democracy. I submit to this audience that we need them when we live. We have had enough people die for it. Now, we need a few people who are willing to live for it. Gentlemen, I say to you that our government is our government and here is where I break away with some of my reactionary contemporaries. There are people in America in public life that believe the government is some sort of a servicing influence, a disinterested third party, and that somehow or other we have to tolerate them. They ought not to be around, but here it is. I don't believe that. I believe that this is our government. It comes from us, it belongs to us, it should be working for us. It is like old Abe Lincoln—"Of the people, by the people, and for the people." Still true, and I say that government is your partner. Don't you think that the government is your partner? Go over and see the Collector of Internal Revenue. The Government of the United States sits down at the dinner table with you. The government is right in your front room. It is living with you every day of the week. It is either a good one or a bad one; it is either a

helpful one or a bad one. How do you want it? It is all up to us.

Well, I say there are some things in which we need help in these days. I know there isn't a father or a mother in this room who, when their son or daughter was in trouble, didn't say to that son or daughter, "If you ever have any trouble and need some help, come see us." The same relationship exists in our political society. When individuals in this society who, through no fault of their own, have some difficulty that cannot be handled by them individually, it is the responsibility of the whole organized society to be of some help. The American people do not want a hand-out. We are not asking for relief or doles. We are not asking to be babied. All that we are asking is that we utilize the instruments and the weapons which are at our command, and that means that we utilize our government for the good that it can do for the American people and for the world.

Just a few more words and then I will conclude my remarks. These things are close to my heart because I am of the opinion that our cause is the just cause. I believe we can have other people understand our way of life and they will respond to our appeal.

Gentlemen, I don't think they are going to respond to our appeal if we go out and try to sell it on a basis as if it were a 10-cent commodity. You know, I must relate a human interest story to you. There is an insurance man back in my home town who has been selling me insurance. What a guy! You know, he sells me just so darned much insurance I don't know what to do with the guy. He is a clever person, too. The first time he came to me he didn't come and say, "Look, what you need is a ten thousand dollar policy, Humphrey." No, he came and asked me about my wife, about my children. He was interested in the work that I was doing in the community. He thought I was a promising young man, and I believed him. You know, everybody likes to be flattered.

The second time he came to me he told me how wonderful it was that we had such a fine family and that, of course, every man wanted to be sure that their family was always protected. He appealed to me on something that was close to me, close to my heart.

The third, fourth, and fifth times he came to me I'll be doggoned if he didn't have me signing on the dotted line for a policy. Well, I thought, now that is enough, I have gotten rid of him and he is gone. He has what he wants and I have received, possibly, what I want. But no, he was very interested in my family. He came and worried more about that family of mine every day, and so help me, he was back a year later with a policy because my family had become just that much more important. It took him two years to do it, but he finally did it, and he came back and sold me another policy.

It is the same thing in political action. Before people are going to trust you and before they are going to respond, they are

going to have to believe in you. We must appeal to the people on the basis of things that are real meaningful to ourselves. As I have said to many labor groups, we are not just laboring people. You don't carry just a union card. You belong to a church or to a fraternal order or a parent-teachers association. You belong to a lodge or club. You are a full citizen, not just a part of a citizen. And while you are in these groups that is the time that you make friends and that is the time you build confidence and respect for the things that are meaningful and important to you. The best campaigning, my friends, is done when you are not campaigning. American politics is wholesome politics, honest politics, when it is done in the interest of the individual and the public welfare and not just in the interest of the political election. It takes time to tell your story. Remember, the opposition has been telling their story for years. They have it in every little possible newspaper outlet that they can get. They have it on the radio and in the press, and even in the theatres. They have the public speakers. And I submit to my friends in organized labor that a few election sheets are not enough to counteract that. The job needs to be done now. A dollar spent by the trade union movement today in the name of labor and the explanation of its policy is worth ten dollars a year later. Whatever you do will come back a hundred fold. What you do in October and November of 1948 will be looked upon as so much stage play.

Smart people, these Americans. They don't learn sometimes as fast as some people would like to have them learn, but to me they learn very well, and if you give them the two issues stripped of all of its fuss and fanfare, if you give them the issue between justice and injustice, between equity and inequity, between honorable politics and dishonorable politics, they will respond quickly, these people of ours. They always have. They want to believe in something. Young Americans today really want to believe in something.

We have had enough cynicism in our generation, enough skepticism. We want to believe that there is leadership that can be elected to public office and political office in America today that understands foreign policy and domestic policy are one and inseparable. You can't be a reactionary at home and a progressive abroad. You can't be a progressive abroad and a conservative at home, either. You can't on the one hand ignore the suffering of millions of your fellow citizens in other parts of the world and say that you are really interested in humankind in America. It just can't be done.

You know, no one is asking you today whether or not you want to be your brother's keeper. You know that is a foolish question. I have heard people say, "Do you think we ought to go out and be our brother's keeper?" That is a question that need not be answered. It was answered 3,000 years ago in the story of Cain and Abel. You are your brother's keeper. This is one world, and we didn't need a dollar

book to prove it to us, even though it was helpful. Yes, we owe Wendell Willkie a debt of gratitude. We owe Christopher Columbus one, too. You know, he discovered that the world was round.

We owe the Nazarene one, too. He discovered long ago that this is one world. Maybe it is about time that we begin to recognize it and live like it.

That is why I am one of those who believe in the Marshall plan to help the people of Europe and I believe that we must give aid to democratic forces in any part of the world. I believe in a policy of firmness and patience when we are dealing with ruthlessness, but at the same time I believe we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to posterity, we owe it to our morality to recognize that there are lots of people in this world and that those people are all humankind. They are all one of us.

The American labor movement was the first organized group in the world that spoke out against Nazism. The American Federation of Labor in one of its great conventions,—if I am not mistaken it was back in 1936 or 1937—was the first to identify the menace of Hitlerism. Thank God for the American Federation of Labor and its friends who will have the genius and the wisdom and the honorableness to recognize that the United States of America is called upon to give world leadership today, leadership in a humanitarian sense and leadership politically. We don't need to be on the defensive. We don't need to have people coming to us with a new way of life. We have a way of life. We have a way of life which is predicated on free speech, freedom of the press and freedom of religion, freedom of conscience and freedom of assembly. These are the eternal values of democracy. That's the way of life.

We have a way of life that is predicated on the right of the individual to make something out of himself. This America of ours isn't a piece of land. This America of ours is a story of humankind. It is a story of where little men can become big men, of where the poor and the meek become the great. It is a story of where a great nation has opened up its gates to be the haven for the oppressed and an asylum for the refugees. If America is going to continue to live in the greatness of its heritage it must continually think in terms of the common man, the little guy that can become the big guy, the ordinary guy that can become the great man.

This is a time for little people to make great decisions, and thank God we have it within us to do it. We can make this world all over again if we really want to. We just have to set ourselves to the task.

I call upon you, Mr. Green and your officers of the American Federation of Labor to remember that we have to rebuild the world in our own community. If you can't save your own block, how are you going to have the world? If you can't have people living in friendship and amicable spirit and cooperative understanding at home, how are you going to keep the nations of the world doing it? If you can't rule away prejudice and bigotry in your

own back alley, how are you going to do away with it on the broad streets of the international picture? It just can't be done. We do these things where we can touch them and where we can see them. That is in our own home town. Take care of your own block, ladies and gentlemen, and you won't have to worry about a block-buster taking care of it a little bit later. Utilize the power that is yours, the power of complete freedom and economic participation and you will give new light and spirit to this way of ours and this democratic system of ours that will make all of its opponents stand up. After all, there is nothing that breeds success quite as much as success, and today we offer a program in success. That program can be offered, I should say, if we get on the march for progressive American political action.

Thank you very much. You have been a grand audience.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have expressed in more eloquent and impressive way your appreciation of this most eloquent address delivered by Mayor Humphrey than I can do in simple words. All of us listened to him with rapt attention. He uttered many, many eternal truths, truths that we have cherished and which will now be emphasized and become of increasing value because of the emphasis he placed upon them.

We are grateful to him for his visit here this afternoon and, exercising the right of free speech, and freedom of expression, I think I can appropriately state that in my opinion, and I think in your opinion, the progressive people of the State of Minnesota could render a great service to this nation if, at the election in 1948, they would order Senator Ball—the deceiver, the double-dealer—to stay at home and send Mayor Humphrey to Washington.

I want to thank you, Mayor Humphrey, for the splendid address delivered here this afternoon.

I am calling upon Secretary-treasurer Meany now to read a synopsis of the report of the Executive Council to this convention, and in doing so we will depart from a time honored custom just briefly, I think. You know, we have always called upon one who occupies a large place in our hearts and our affections, one who we hold in high esteem and high regard—the Secretary-treasurer of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, my very dear friend, Frank Duffy, to read this condensed report. But I have decided on my own that I will let

him sit and listen this time and have the Secretary-treasurer read the report.

I will now present Secretary-treasurer Meany to read the condensed report of the Executive Council.

SUMMARY OF REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Secretary Meany read the following:

In the introduction to its report to this convention, your Executive Council directs attention to the fact that though the fighting war is over, we have not yet won the peace for democracy. During the past year there have been concerted efforts to handicap and weaken unions which have aroused America's wage earners to the potential threat to their individual and collective freedom. The attacks on unions which have been waged during the past year should serve to start widespread educational work to enable every worker to protect his rights both economically and politically. The coming year will witness a revival of trade unions which will make each member conscious of his responsibilities. When misfortunes serve to bring us back to consideration and reevaluation of basic principles, that aspect at least is beneficial and can lead to readjustment for constructive progress.

Secretary Treasurer's Report.

During the past year two new international unions were chartered, 31 central bodies, 124 local trade unions and 101 federal labor unions were chartered as reported by Secretary-Treasurer Meany. The total paid-up membership of the Federation on August 31, 1947 was 7,577,716, a net gain of 425,908 members in the last fiscal year. Secretary-Treasurer Meany includes in his report a full financial accounting of his stewardship.

Official Changes.

There were several changes in the official family of the Federation during the past year. Former Vice-Presidents G. M. Bugniuzet and Felix H. Knight both resigned from the Executive Council. Brother Charles J. MacGowan, President of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, was selected to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Broth-

er Bugniuzet, and President Herman Winter of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union was chosen to fill the post vacated by Brother Knight.

Changes of Titles of International Unions.

Application was made for changes in titles of two international unions during the past year and inasmuch as the requested changes did not in any way change the jurisdictions of the two international unions in question, permission was granted by the Executive Council and the amended titles now read:

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union; and

United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting industry of the United States and Canada.

Selection of Fraternal Delegates.

Brothers Arnold S. Zander, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and George J. Richardson, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Association of Fire Fighters, were appointed to serve as fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress which met at Southport, England, on September 1st.

President Leo E. George of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks was designated to serve as fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which convened at Hamilton, Ontario, on September 24th.

Engineers—Firemen and Oilers.

Though negotiations were continued during the past year to effect an amalgamation of these two organizations, this merger has not been realized due to the opposition of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. Your Executive Council reaffirms its belief that an amalgamation of these two organizations should be consummated in the interest of the membership of both organizations and efforts toward this end should be continued.

Conferences with Representatives of the C. I. O.

Your Executive Council reports in detail attempts which were made during the past year to bring about a merger of the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. The Council stands ready to

carry out the commitments which it has made in favor of organizational unity within the ranks of Labor and to join in laying the foundation for the establishment of such a united movement and to sincerely work out the details incidental to the creation and establishment of such a united labor movement.

Continued Dissociation of the International Association of Machinists.

Special efforts were exerted by a committee representing the Executive Council which met with a committee representing the International Association of Machinists, to bring about the reaffiliation of the latter organization with the American Federation of Labor. Though efforts toward this end have not yet been successful, your Executive Council entertains the hope that eventually the International Association of Machinists will become reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor. For this reason efforts should be continued to bring about this desired result.

Boycott on German and Japanese Goods.

Inquiries have been made as to whether or not the boycott placed on German and Japanese goods which was put into effect by the 53rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor is still to be observed. Your Executive Council has referred this question to the current convention for final decision.

Jurisdictional Problems.

Under this title your Council reports on efforts which have been made to carry out the instructions of the 65th convention of the A. F. of L. "to set up within the motion picture, amusement and all other industries, and with the sanction and agreement of all unions working in these industries" ways and means for setting up machinery which will insure the peaceful settlement, without work stoppage of all jurisdictional disputes within the structure of the motion picture, amusement and all other industries. A committee was appointed to study all phases of the questions involved and to draft a plan for the peaceful settlement of all future disputes which might arise in the studios. To date the committee has submitted no findings or recommendations.

Purchase of Site for Future A. F. of L. Headquarters.

Under this title a report is made of the purchase of a suitable and desirable site on which will be erected a new headquarters building for the American Federation of Labor.

U. S. Payroll Savings Plan.

At the present time approximately 5½ million wage earners, most of whom are members of organized labor, are voluntarily continuing to participate in payroll savings plans through the regular purchase of upwards of \$110 million worth of these securities each month, as reported under the above title.

Organizing Activities.

During the past year the Federation's organizing staff has been hard pressed with a vastly increased work load. In addition to intensive organizing campaigns, since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill our organizers have been familiarizing themselves with this legislation so that they may advise local unions relative to the policy of the American Federation of Labor with regard thereto. It is even more necessary now than ever before—in the light of anti-Labor legislation—that we expend all efforts to organize all workers under the American Federation of Labor.

Southern Organizing Campaign.

The organizing campaign in the 14 southern states has been in effect for over 12 months. The campaign has been very successful in new membership gains and other tangible results. While all goals have not yet been reached, a start has been made toward full organization which will reach fruition in the months and years ahead. Your Council is of the opinion that the southern organizing campaign has been good for the South, and good for the American Federation of Labor.

The Federation's Foreign Policy.

Your Council points out that war is a catastrophe we earnestly wish to avoid and that security lies only in alert and tireless planning to maintain peace. We are constantly made conscious of the way in which national policies are related to foreign policies and how foreign policies

impact on national policies. In this section of its report your Executive Council presents a concise review of the activities of the Federation in the field of foreign affairs.

American Federation of Labor in the United Nations.

Through official A. F. of L. consultants to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, our organization participates in the development of United Nations economic and social policies. Vice-Presidents Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky were appointed as the representatives of the American Federation on this Council.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

Under this title a brief report is submitted dealing with the creation of UNESCO and its objectives which hold great potentialities for working people and for the development of international education among wage earners.

Representation in U. S. A. Military Governments.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor are on the staffs of the heads of the U. S. A. military governments of the occupied countries of Germany and Japan. These representatives are available for consultation with local labor representatives in those countries to put the experience of U. S. trade unionists at their service. The work of these representatives in occupied countries will be influential in shaping future labor policies in those countries and developing understanding between the workers of the United States and those of former enemy countries.

International Labor Relations.

A comprehensive report of the activities of the American Federation of Labor in international labor affairs is presented under this title. Through the Committee on International Labor Relations of the Federation the Executive Council has in the past year greatly expanded its efforts to render moral and material aid to the cause of free trade unionism abroad.

Department of Labor Advisory Committee on International Labor.

Under this title there is presented a brief report of the creation and activities of the Advisory Committee on International Labor, on which there are four representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council is convinced that a definite line of responsibility should be established for the formulation of international labor policy for the United States. In the interests of efficiency and economy the State Department should develop liaison relations with the specialized administrative departments so that the development of foreign policy may have the benefit of specialized competence.

Latin American Relations.

Since our last convention the Federation has greatly increased its activities in Latin America in the distribution of literature, with propaganda tours, and through personal contacts.

There is now under consideration the organization of an Inter-American Labor Confederation and it is understood that a majority of Latin American, bona fide independent trade union organizations have pledged their support to such an undertaking.

International Labor Organization.

Under this title your Executive Council submits a report of the activities of the I. L. O. during the past year.

A. F. of L. Employees Retirement Plan.

The 1946 convention authorized the establishment of a retirement system for employees of the American Federation of Labor which has now been put into effect. Full details of the plan are submitted for the information of the convention.

Consumer Co-operatives and Credit Unions.

The importance of consumer co-operatives and credit unions in helping to meet current problems of high prices and reduced consumer buying has become obvious to many of our trade unionists. Many locals have gone forward with educational campaigns to acquaint their members with the principles of the consumer co-operative and credit union, and some organizations have actually organ-

ized credit unions and co-operatives. Your Council directs attention to the fact, however, that efficient business management is essential in any co-operative enterprise and unions are cautioned to have a good manager for any co-operative or credit union in which they participate.

Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions.

This is a regular feature of the reports of the Executive Council. Compilations are made from replies received in response to questionnaires which are sent to all affiliated national and international unions.

Public Relations.

The need for the establishment and maintenance of a permanent public relations program for the purpose of offsetting the widespread propaganda activities of anti-Labor forces in our country is very great and clearly apparent. Such a program should be aimed not only at specific objectives such as the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, but should stress the achievements of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the nation's workers and the American people as a whole, as outlined in the report of the Council.

Labor's Monthly Survey.

In the brief report on the official economic bulletin of the American Federation of Labor, it is noted that circulation of this publication has increased 40 per cent during the past year.

North American Labor News.

The Executive Council is gratified to report on the continued growth and success of the Spanish-language clip-sheet which is published bi-monthly by the American Federation of Labor. In addition to the trade union leaders of the South American countries, the Departments of Labor and State have found this publication most helpful and useful in their education work in Spanish-speaking countries. The Council recommends that the North American Labor News be continued and sincerely hopes that further efforts will be soon realized to more fully acquaint the Latin American trade union movements with the work of the American Federation of Labor.

Labor and Federal Administrative Agencies.

Under this title attention is directed to the problems which have been created by the several government reorganization programs which have been inaugurated since the close of the war. The Executive Council expresses the opinion that one of the first steps which should be taken to retrieve Labor's losses in the administrative as well as legislative field should be the rehabilitation of the Department of Labor under a secretary who has not only sympathetic understanding of labor problems, but who has a concern for Labor's welfare. Labor should have government recognition in keeping with the importance of the service rendered and to enable workers to have services that would permit them to keep step with economic and social progress.

U. S. Conciliation Service.

In this section of the report, your Executive Council presents some of the difficulties which have been presented by the reorganization of the U. S. Conciliation Service.

Joint Labor Advisory Committee to the Bureau of Labor Statistics

This committee is designed to provide a medium for the exchange of ideas and comparison of notes between those who provide labor statistics and those who use the data. The agency has satisfied a long felt need for closer liaison between the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the labor unions of our country. The function of the committee, however, is purely advisory and to present all points of view of organized labor on Bureau of Labor Statistics programs and operations.

Wage and Hour Administration.

Attention is directed to the fact that the return to peacetime administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act has not meant a return to peacetime standards of enforcement.

The entire history of the administration of the nation's wage and hour standards during the past few years exemplifies the need for a basic revision of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Your Council recommends that all wage determinations under the Public Contracts Act be re-

opened in order to set equitable minimum rates which accord with present day economic realities.

Legal Activities.

This portion of the report of your Executive Council reviews the legal activities of the American Federation of Labor through its general counsel during the past year. Attention is directed to the fact that our legal problems will be greatly increased next year when the full impact of the Taft-Hartley Law will begin to be felt.

United States vs. John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers.

This important labor case is of great significance because of the legal principles involved affecting the rights of the workers of our nation. For this reason it is dealt with in detail in the Council's Report.

The American Federation of Labor regards the decision rendered in this case as reprehensible and ignominious, as completely contrary to basic constitutional and common law doctrines and repulsive to the genius of freedom and democracy. The Federation condemns the decision in this case and will do everything in its power to secure its reversal and repudiation.

National Legislation.

Under this title there is submitted a detailed report on legislative measures which were introduced in the first session of the Eightieth Congress which were of special interest to the workers. Attention is directed to the fact that there were more anti-Labor measures introduced in that session than in any other in our Congressional history.

Publicity Campaign Against the Taft-Hartley Bill.

The Executive Council directs your attention to the extensive publicity campaign which was conducted by the American Federation of Labor to acquaint the general public with the vicious anti-democratic character of the Taft-Hartley Bill. The results of our publicity campaign and its effect on public opinion were highly gratifying and even though the bill was enacted into law, we feel sure that public opinion was against the bill. The newspaper and radio programs of the

A. F. of L. served a tremendously useful purpose and point to the future possibilities for Labor in this particular field.

Employment Act of 1946.

The Council of Economic Advisors provided in the Employment Act of 1946 is responsible for assisting and advising the President in the preparation of his Economic Report which he submits to Congress at the beginning of each session. There are three representatives of the A. F. of L. serving as advisors to the Council.

Taxation.

Under this title is presented for your consideration recommendations for revision of our federal tax structure which the Council deems advantageous and desirable.

Housing.

This section of the report deals with the serious housing shortage which prevails in our nation though the war has been over for two years. There is dire need for a comprehensive and equitable housing program which will meet the needs of families of small means. The increasing acuteness of the housing problem and its growing importance to the maintenance of maximum employment, make the strengthening of the A. F. of L. housing service especially vital to Labor.

Veterans Affairs.

In its report under this heading, your Council urges that every effort be made to cement friendly relations between veterans and organized labor. All affiliated locals are urged to give special attention to the veterans' problems. Central labor unions are asked to formulate community-wide programs to acquaint veterans with the work of the American Federation of Labor. Union members and local officials who are veterans are asked to participate actively as individuals in community veterans' affairs and through their unions to keep the A. F. of L. Committee on Veterans informed of their activities.

Social Insurance Activities.

Because of its importance to all wage earners, special attention is directed to the section of your Council's report under the above heading. This section of the

report not only embodies an accounting of our activities in the field, but makes important recommendations and suggestions for the future.

Union and Labor Research Agencies.

This portion of the report calls attention to the fact that the Division of Statistical Standards is responsible for coordinating the entire research and statistical work of the federal government. The Labor Advisory Committee to the Division of Statistical Standards affords an opportunity to present Labor's informational needs before this top government statistical agency. This advisory group meets at intervals and has kept constantly in touch with the whole program of statistical research of the federal government, discussing proposals for new work and urging changes which will result in labor information not previously available.

Education.

Under this general title there is presented a comprehensive report on educational matters of special concern to Labor including federal aid to education, vocational education, international educational problems, workers service and education programs, etc.

- Government Employes Council**
- Workers Education Bureau of America.**
- Building and Construction Trades Department.**
- Maritime Trades Department.**
- Metal Trades Department.**
- Union Label Trades Department.**
- Railway Employes Department.**

Under these respective headings are presented the annual reports of the several organizations listed.

- Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.**
- Hawaii.**
- Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.**

These sections comprise the annual reports from our Island and Territorial Federations.

Conclusion.

In the conclusion to its report your Executive Council recommends to the convention maintenance of those principles and policies which have made our organization the strongest and most respected labor movement in the world. We hope to use our power and prestige to promote the interests and welfare of free labor at home and throughout the world. The report ends with a note of conviction that the coming year will tax our vision, our courage, and our faith.

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

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New International Unions Chartered.....	Executive Council Report
Reaffiliation Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen.....	Executive Council Report
Official Changes.....	Executive Council Report
Changes of Titles of International Unions.....	Executive Council Report
Selection of Fraternal Delegates.....	Executive Council Report
Engineers—Firemen and Oilers.....	Resolutions
Conference with Representatives of C.I.O.....	Resolutions
Continued Dissociation of International Association of Machinists.....	Executive Council Report
Status of Boycott on German and Japanese Goods.....	Education
Jurisdictional Problems.....	Executive Council Report
Purchase of Site for future A. F. of L. Headquarters.....	Executive Council Report
U. S. Payroll Savings Plan.....	Education
Organizing Activities	Organization
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United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).....	Resolutions
Representation in U. S. Military Governments.....	Resolutions
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A. F. of L. Employees' Retirement Annuity Plan.....	Executive Council Report
Cooperatives.....	Resolutions
Trade Union Benefits.....	Executive Council Report
Public Relations.....	Resolutions
American Federationist.....	Resolutions
Labor's Monthly Survey.....	Resolutions
North American Labor News.....	Resolutions
Labor and Federal Administrative Agencies.....	Resolutions
U. S. Conciliation Service.....	Resolutions
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Labor Standards on Government Contracts	
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U. S. Government Appropriations.....	Legislation
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Loyalty Probe, U. S. Government Employees	
Speed-Up Systems, U. S. Government Plants	
Navy Yards and Arsenals.....	Legislation
Canal Zone.....	Legislation
McCarran Amendment	
Teachers' Pay	
District of Columbia.....	Legislation
Barbers	
School Teachers' Pay	
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Anti-Lynching.....	Legislation
Fair Employment Practices.....	Legislation
Income Tax.....	Resolutions
Anti-Poll Tax.....	Legislation
Anti-Labor Legislation.....	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Board.....	Resolutions
Frey Amendment to National Labor Relations Act.....	Resolutions
Housing Legislation.....	Building Trades
Puerto Rico.....	Legislation
School Lunch Program.....	Legislation
Sugar Act of 1948.....	Legislation
Physically Handicapped.....	Legislation
Rivers and Harbors.....	Resolutions
Highways.....	Resolutions
Central Valley Project.....	Legislation
Un-American Activities.....	Resolutions
Missouri Valley Authority.....	Legislation
Immigration and Naturalization.....	Legislation
Displaced Persons	
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Lawyers' Bill.....	Legislation
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Flammable Fabrics Act.....	Legislation
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Subject	Committee
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Building and Construction Trades Department.....	Building Trades
Maritime Trades Department.....	Executive Council Report
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 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
 Representation in U. S. Military Governments
 Co-operatives
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 Social Security (Legislation)
 Income Tax (Legislation)
 Anti-Labor Legislation (Legislation)
 National Labor Relations Board (Legislation)
 Frey Amendment to the National Labor Relations Act (Legislation)
 Rivers and Harbors (Legislation)
 Highways (Legislation)
 Un-American Activities (Legislation)
 Publicity Campaign against Taft-Hartley Bill

Employment Act of 1946
 Taxation
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 Old Age and Survivors Insurance
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 National Employment Service
 Health Insurance
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New International Unions Chartered
 Reaffiliation Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen
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International Labor Relations
 International Labor Publications
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Referred to Committee on Education

Status of Boycott on German and Japanese Goods
 U. S. Payroll Savings Plan
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Referred to Committee on Organization

Organizing Activities
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Referred to Committee on Legislation

National Legislation
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 Department of Labor
 U. S. Government Employees
 Loyalty Probe, U. S. Government Employees
 Speed-up Systems, U. S. Government Plants
 Navy Yards and Arsenals
 Canal Zone
 McCarran Amendment
 Teachers' Pay

District of Columbia
 Barbers
 School Teachers' Pay
 School Teachers' Retirement
 Firemen 3-Platoon System
 Congressional Investigations
 Longshoremen and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act
 Universal Compulsory Military Training
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 Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947
 Minimum Wage
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 Anti-Poll Tax
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 Physically Handicapped
 Central Valley Project
 Missouri Valley Authority
 Immigration and Naturalization
 Displaced Persons
 Investigation of Immigration System and Displaced Persons
 Agricultural Labor
 Lawyers' Bill
 Veterans' Legislation
 Flammable Fabrics Act
 Legislative Reorganization Act
 State Labor Legislation

Referred to Committee on Building Trades

Housing Legislation (National Legislation)
 Housing for Veterans
 Building and Construction Trades Department

Referred to Committee on Labels

Union Label Trades Department

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Secretary will report upon some resolutions that have been received since the convention has been in session, and the disposition of such resolutions.

Secretary Meany read the following:

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions requiring unanimous consent are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council.

From the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon: Taxes, Apprenticeship Training Program.

From the Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, California: AFL Public Relations Department, Payroll Savings Plan.

From the Federated Trades and Labor Council, San Diego, California: Newsprint Supply for Labor Press.

From the Seafarers International Union of North America: Conservation of Fisheries, North American Fisheries, Cooperative Marketing Agencies.

From the Reading Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pennsylvania: Expanding A. F. of L. Publicity Service.

From the delegates of the organizations affiliated to the Government Employees Council: Transfer of Government Work to Private Industry, Indiscriminate Governmental Firing, Abuse of Government Personnel, Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees, Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor, United States Civil Service Commission, Eliminate Communists from Government Service, Civil Service for Fire Fighters, Civil Service Status for First, Second and Third Class Postmasters, Salary Increase for Government Employees, Liberalization of United States Civil Service Retirement Act, Rural Letter Carriers Substitute Status, Higher Standards in Government Employment, Postal Service, Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service, Modernization of Compensation Act, Multiplicity of Taxation, Five-Day Week for Rural Letter Carriers, Rural Letter Carriers Allowance Increase, Minimum Tax Exemption for Federal Annuitants, Five-Day Week for Government Employees,

Government Employees—Wage Board Employees Night Differential and Holiday Pay, Annual and Sick Leave for Postal Employees, Civil Service Retirement Fund, Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees.

From the Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Maryland: Political Activity.

From the Central Labor Union, Santa Cruz, California: Political Activity.

From the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor: Future Wage and Work Security.

From the Central Labor Councils of San Bernardino and Riverside, California: Palm Springs Anti-Labor Campaign.

These resolutions require unanimous consent.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the reading of the report by the Secretary and the recommendation of the special sub-committee. Are there any objections to the recommendation of the committee that the resolutions be accepted and referred to the appropriate committees? Hearing none, the report of the sub-committee is adopted.

(The resolutions above referred to will be found at the end of the day's proceedings.)

The Chair inquired whether any committee was prepared to report. No committee reports were ready.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that the rules be suspended and that the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 9.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 4:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 9.

RESOLUTIONS

TAXES

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council of Portland, and Vicinity, Portland, Oregon.

WHEREAS, The 80th Congress of the United States in its first session did propose two tax reduction programs, and

WHEREAS, Congress will undoubtedly propose a similar tax reduction program, and

WHEREAS, The tax reductions proposed have not met the needs of the great majority of the people of the United States, and

WHEREAS, A tax reduction made along correct and fair lines could and would adjust the tax burden for all, giving equal relief to all, and in so doing contribute to the continued prosperity of the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has continued to rise making it mandatory that those persons with earnings of less than \$5,000.00 receive an increase in order to maintain an American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, Some small businesses have reached the point where a further increase in labor costs will work a definite hardship on them and a fair tax reduction program will tend to eliminate the demand for a further rise in labor costs; at the same time maintaining the purchasing power of the low income groups, thereby continuing business profits in the high tax brackets, which in turn would maintain the high tax collections for government needs, and

WHEREAS, The following tax program would eliminate many millions from the necessity of filing tax returns, thereby saving the government countless thousands of dollars, which at the present are being spent in checking millions of minor tax returns, and

WHEREAS, This would make available many thousands of revenue employees to work on the audit of larger returns as well as those of tax evaders where their service to the government would be greatly enhanced, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition the Congress for the revision of Section 25 of the International Revenue Code to read as follows:

(b) Credits for Both Normal Tax and Surtax.—

(1) Credits.—There shall be allowed for the purposes of both the normal tax and the surtax, the following credits against net income:

(A) An exemption of \$1,000 for the taxpayer,

(B) An exemption of \$1,000 for the spouse of the taxpayer, if—

(i) a joint return is made by the taxpayer and his spouse under section 51, in which case the aggregate exemption of the spouses under subparagraph (A) and this subparagraph shall be \$2000, or

(ii) a separate return is made by the taxpayer, and his spouse has no gross income for the calendar year in which the taxable year of the taxpayer begins and is not dependent of another taxpayer;

(C) An exemption of \$1000 for each dependent whose gross income for the calendar year in which the taxable year of the taxpayer begins is less than \$1000, except that the exemption shall not be allowed in respect of a dependent who has made a joint return with his spouse under section 51 for the taxable year beginning in such calendar year.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The bible tells us that "He that is void of wisdom despiseth his neighbor but a man of understanding holdeth his peace," and

WHEREAS, There are in our country selfish interests who being void of wisdom despise their neighbors, the working men and women of America, as evidenced by the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" law, and

WHEREAS, It is essential for the welfare of our country that the American Federation of Labor not only continue to merit public esteem and support but that it also shall gain and hold more public esteem and support, than at present, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor establish a new and permanent Public Relations Department, to fill the void of wisdom on the part of those who fail to realize the vital importance of organized labor to the welfare of our country, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the establishment of said Public Relations Department, the American Federation of Labor Executive Council shall employ competent public relations counsel, to the end that all men and women in our country, both within and without the American Federation of Labor, shall become men and women of understanding who hold the peace and jointly work for the good of our country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon.

WHEREAS, Under the G. I. Bill of Rights, Public Law 346, when it was first enacted a discharged veteran was given the assurance that he would receive the difference in wages on the progressive rate

between an apprentice and a journeyman and at no time was he to receive above the ceiling wages of journeyman of any given craft or trade, and

WHEREAS, With this assurance the average veteran seeking to reestablish himself in civil life obligated himself to the fullest extent of his wages as guaranteed by Public Law 346, and

WHEREAS, The enactment of Public Law 679 placing a ceiling whereby a maximum of \$175 per month for a single man and \$200 a month for a married man was instituted, and

WHEREAS, This lowering of a veteran's wages reduced his living standards placing him in the position of not meeting his financial obligations, and

WHEREAS, The Veterans Administration, waiting for authorization to enforce Public Law 679, overpaid a great many veterans and have notified the veterans that not only will the subsistence pay be cut off but they will be denied any further training under the veterans program unless refunds of the overpayment is made immediately, and

WHEREAS, This will work an extreme hardship upon the veterans and will compel them to work at any job they may be able to secure with no chance of learning a skilled trade, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as seeking to correct this injustice and use its influence to cause this Law to be amended. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NEWSPRINT SUPPLY FOR LABOR PRESS

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate John W. Quimby, Federated Trades and Labor Council, San Diego, California.

WHEREAS, A flourishing and widely circulated labor press is a vital factor in the health of the American labor movement, and more necessary than ever to its defense in 1948, and

WHEREAS, The very existence of many a labor publication is now threatened by the newsprint shortage and the soaring newsprint prices in black market and gray market offerings, and

WHEREAS, The wealthiest and most bitterly anti-labor of the commercial dailies profit by the very situation which threatens to drive our labor weeklies to the wall, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

eration of Labor, through appropriate officers and committees, undertake immediate and thorough investigation of this problem, with a view to employing every legal and political means to induce the suppliers of newsprint to maintain the normal allocation of supply to the labor press, with normal increases in quota for 1948 at a general price stabilized below gray market levels, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event negotiations to this end appear futile, the American Federation of Labor give serious thought to financing a cooperative purchasing plan to the end that the pooled purchasing power of the Federation and the labor press be exerted to compete as far as possible with the huge purchasing power of the commercial press in the news print market.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PAYROLL SAVINGS PLAN

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has from time to time endorsed the United States Savings Bond Program under the supervision of the United States Treasury Department, and

WHEREAS, The continued purchase of United States Savings Bonds has proven itself to be beneficial to members of the American Federation of Labor in times of disaster and need, and

WHEREAS, This program is still made available to workers of the American Federation of Labor by payroll savings plans still in effect in many companies for the benefit of their workers, and

WHEREAS, The thrift habits established under this program have been of inestimable value to our membership, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the United States Savings Bond program, urging all members of the American Federation of Labor to participate and urge employers to establish payroll savings plans where they do not now exist, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request all members to hold their bonds as their stake in our country's future, thus defeating the inflationary trends that are so apparent in the domestic market.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONSERVATION OF FISHERIES

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Nelson H. Cruikshank, Morris Weisberger, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The North Atlantic Fisheries, for many years past, has suffered depletion of its natural food resources due to irresponsible over-fishing, and

WHEREAS, The Atlantic Fishermen's Union has for many years past persistently requested vessel owners and fish dealer companies and government agencies to forestall this abusive exploitation of this natural resource,—to which requests the aforementioned commercial interests have been especially heedless, and

WHEREAS, The Atlantic Fishermen's Union, for many years past, has sponsored conservation of sea resources by International Treaty between the United States, Canada and other countries bordering on the North Atlantic and but recently has convinced the Federal Government, and especially our State Department, of the reasonableness and practicality of its specific conservation program resulting in tentative unofficial adoption thereof, and

WHEREAS, The State Department in its promotion of conservation of sea resources by International Treaty has indicated no desire to seek the assistance of practical fishermen and the Atlantic Fishermen's Union further to effectuate national policy as so pioneered by the Atlantic Fishermen's Union, and

WHEREAS, The cooperation of practical fishermen is necessary both for the sound formulation and administration of such an International Treaty, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in this convention assembled as follows:

1. That the President of the American Federation of Labor forthwith transmit to the President of the United States, Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Interior, a copy of this resolution.

2. That the President of the American Federation of Labor forthwith advise the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Interior, that it is the position of the American Federation of Labor that sound international relations requires that on all governmental committees seeking conservation of sea resources by International Treaty or like arrangement and now in being and hereafter to be constituted, whether advisory, research, scientific or economic in nature or function, due representation shall be afforded to the producer fishermen.

3. The President of the American Federation of Labor is empowered and ordered

to take all steps necessary to assure effectuation of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NORTH AMERICAN FISHERIES

Resolution No. 148—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, Nelson H. Cruikshank, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Fishermen producers are now being prosecuted for alleged violations of anti-trust laws by both Federal and State agencies,—and this in violation of the exemptions from such prosecution under both the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia Acts, and

WHEREAS, Such action to weaken organized labor makes it unnecessary, just and incumbent upon and for the American Federation of Labor forthwith and forthrightly to extend its organization in the North American fisheries beneficially and in the public interest, especially so as to eliminate the extortionate profits of middlemen and thus to promote fair consumer prices, and

WHEREAS, Organization of fishermen can be most substantially advanced by the organization of cooperative marketing agencies under Federal laws, and

WHEREAS, Promotion of such fishermen's organizations are by the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 made the duty of the Secretary of Agriculture, and

WHEREAS, Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton Anderson, has failed, though obligated by the aforementioned law, to establish a National Advisory Committee, the membership of which committee shall be representative of fishermen producers and has only cooperated with fish dealers and thus is planfully blocking fishermen from obtaining the full benefits of cooperative marketing legislation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in this convention assembled as follows:

1. The Executive Council shall forthwith undertake, with needful personnel and appropriation, a special organization campaign for the thorough organization of the fishermen in the various North American fisheries, and the establishment of cooperative marketing agencies appropriately incidental thereto,—such campaign to be of primary and top importance in the period pending the next annual convention.

2. The Executive Council is empowered and ordered to take all action necessary to extend to said fisheries benefits analogous to those enjoyed by agricultural producers under Federal legislation.

3. The President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture be forthwith informed that the American Federation of Labor views with deep disapprobation the violation of law arising by failure to afford producer fishermen due representation on the National Advisory Council aforementioned, and requests correction of the Secretary's unfortunate dereliction of duty.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COOPERATIVE MARKETING AGENCIES

Resolution No. 149—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, Nelson H. Cruikshank, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Fishermen producers are now being prosecuted for alleged violations of anti-trust laws by both Federal and state agencies,— and this in violation of the exemptions from such prosecution under both the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia Acts, and

WHEREAS, These attacks, especially against the Atlantic Fishermen's union are sponsored by a combination of big business and labor baiting politicians, and thereby have developed into a similarly sponsored movement against all organized labor, and all this concomitant with big business attacks on agricultural cooperatives, and

WHEREAS, This joint program has fostered a national movement now taking form in the Congress of the United States to strip both labor and agriculture of the protection of the Clayton Act and the benefits of Federal legislation covering Co-operative Marketing Agencies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in this convention assembled as follows:

1. The Executive Council is empowered to take all necessary action to prevent and forestall any revision of the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia Acts seeking to deprive either labor or agriculture of the privileges and immunities presently in force and effect.

2. The Executive Council is empowered and ordered, as soon as may be and prior to the next Congress to cooperate with national organizations representing agricultural and consumer cooperatives for the preservation, extension and other application of the benefits of cooperative marketing and other related legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXPANDING A. F. of L. PUBLICITY SERVICE

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate George M. Rhodes, Reading Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, Public support and sound public relations are necessary for organized labor in seeking its objectives of labor and social progress and for public understanding of Labor's cause and the contribution it makes to the welfare and security of the common folks of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Public information channels are loaded with anti-labor news and propaganda which gives the public a distorted view on labor, economic, and social questions, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor had already taken steps in getting Labor's message to the public through excellent radio broadcasts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor expend its publicity by making of transcripts of educational programs to be sent out over the nation to central labor unions with a request that local radio stations be asked to broadcast them as a public service, in the same manner and without cost, as is now being done for the National Association of Manufacturers and other business groups.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT WORK TO PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison John Fos-

ter, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Government printing is being contracted out to private printing concerns by the Treasury Department, while printing trades forces at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are suffering from shortage of work and probable further reduction in the number of employes, and

WHEREAS, The practice of contracting out to the International Business Machines Company the Government checks, formerly printed at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing has reduced the volume of work tremendously, necessitating a corresponding decrease in the personnel therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record of approving this appeal and resolution and that the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of this action to Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, advising him of the injustice to the civil service employes of the Washington Printing Trades.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDISCRIMINATE GOVERNMENTAL FIRING

Resolution No. 152—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck,

Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Men and women accept employment in peacetime in the bond of good faith and full intention to make the Federal government civilian service a career, and

WHEREAS, Much of the turnover in the Government service is superinduced through the uncertainties of limitation on appropriations, expiration of appropriations, cessation of projects and programs, whether emergency, defense, wartime or peacetime, and

WHEREAS, Instability in Government employment is so noticeably high as to dis-

courage entrance of many qualified persons, and

WHEREAS, Wave after wave of dismissals continually beset the Government service without planning beyond determination to curtail numbers employed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor joins wholeheartedly in endorsing the position of its unions in the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor in their purpose of seeing established an orderly system to eliminate the official hysteria which leads to reduction in force and to prevent the damage to employe morals, lowered efficiency and resultant decline in return upon the citizens' tax-dollar investment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Recurrently national expenditures have become the center of much discussion, and

WHEREAS, Government programs and Government civilian personnel invariably are caught in the cross-fire of the pros and cons of such discussions, and

WHEREAS, Attacks upon Government personnel which more properly might be directed at Government programs prove extremely harmful to the efforts to perform their jobs effectively with morale suffering as a direct result, and

WHEREAS, Such attacks inevitably result in undermining the citizen's respect for and faith in his Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does herewith condemn all premeditated, gratuitous assaults upon Government employes as a class, and that the American Federation of Labor calls for the full exercise of fair play in considering the merits of Government projects and programs, separate and apart from the persons assigned to carry out such projects, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extends its prestige and full support to the Unions in the Government Employes Council in their pledge to safeguard the good name of those who serve our Government in civilian capacities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

APPLICATION OF SENIORITY PRINCIPLES TO ALL FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 154—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special

Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the establishment of seniority principles among all United States Government employes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES EXTEND THANKS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 155—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T.

J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The organizations of the Government Employes Council affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have re-

cently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions in the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor in this sixty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Resolution No. 156—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Lavis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The administration of laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923 and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to the civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employes, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employes should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to request of the President that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ELIMINATE COMMUNISTS FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Resolution No. 157—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal

Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Insidious forces of Communism have crept into certain elements of organized labor, seeking to dominate policies and practices of the free trade labor movement by infiltration into the ranks, and

WHEREAS, These same subversive forces would spread their doctrines of destruction into the Government of the United States, whereby constituting a real danger and threat to the true democratic principles of our Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, renews its pledge of loyalty to the United States Government, and recommends the dismissal from the service of any known member of the Communist party, or anyone who is in sympathy with any subversive movement as to be detrimental to our democratic form of Government, and be it further

RESOLVED That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIVIL SERVICE FOR FIRE FIGHTERS

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Fire fighters employed on military installations for the Government are recognized as a necessity for the proper protection of those installations, and

WHEREAS, Experienced fire fighters are best qualified for this type of protective service, through experience and familiarity with terrain, construction, occupancy, life involvement, hazards, water supply, alarm system, location of buildings, storage tanks, dock yards, drafting locations, hydrants, mobilization of the fire fighting forces, full use of manpower and pumping equipment, and

WHEREAS, Because of reduced appropriations, economies are being effected, and in some military installations, military personnel has replaced experienced fire fighters and in others, men in other types of work because of higher civil service ratings in the same civil service grade, experienced fire fighters are replaced by civilian employes, and

WHEREAS, The continuation of this program by department heads and installation commanders will lead to the lowering of the efficiency which can lead to the destruction of these very essential installations. Any reduction in the experienced fire fighting force will lead to the loss of some of these installations which were erected at a tremendous cost to the public, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the establishment within the civil service framework of a separate classification for fire fighters covering all military installations so that the continuation of experienced fire fighters will be assured for the protection of public property.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate Thomas J. Healy, Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Maryland.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has recently enacted and caused to be placed upon the statute books of our Federal government a law known as the Taft-Hartley Bill, and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law will have serious and disastrous effects upon the people of our nation, and

WHEREAS, The Taft-Hartley Law if permitted to remain on the statute books of our Federal government will seriously hamper if not totally destroy, the effects of the great humanitarian accomplishments by the American Federation of Labor in the interests of all of the toilers of our nation, and

WHEREAS, It is the desire of all loyal and true trade unionists to continue their efforts in behalf of all American men and women who toil for a living, and

WHEREAS, In order that the best interest of all of the citizens of our nation can properly be served, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law becomes the most important item on labor's agenda, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor convention in session, convened on October 6, 1947, in the City of San Francisco, California, does hereby unanimously record itself in favor of the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act at the earliest possible date, and therefore calls upon all American Federation of Labor, national, international and local unions, and state and city central bodies to lend their every effort to this end, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call upon all presidents of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge, and instruct where possible, their local unions and all rank and file members of such local unions to affiliate themselves with independent non-partisan Political Leagues composed of members of the American Federation of Labor, in order that in each locality the central labor unions may bring about full and complete registration and voting strength, for the purpose of supporting only those candidates for the offices of United States Senate or United States House of Representatives, who definitely pledge themselves for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate H. C. Bollman, Central Labor Union, Santa Cruz, California.

WHEREAS, The Taft-Hartley Act was passed to enable the employers to accomplish on the political field what they were unable to accomplish on the economic field, namely, the weakening and smashing of unions and the driving downward of the workers' standard of living in order to make bigger profits, and

WHEREAS, Passage of this Law presents a host of new problems to the American Federation of Labor and the rest of the labor movement, which it has never faced before, and

WHEREAS, This new situation demands the entrance of the American Federation of Labor into politics, where labor has a powerful weapon in 37 million votes, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in the past been non-partisan in the political field, supporting its so-called friends who in the main ended by betraying labor because they were not pledged to a program, and

WHEREAS, The need of the day is for labor to enter politics in an organized fashion by entering its own candidates and organizing labor's own party, if it is to survive and progress, and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the American Federation of Labor does not permit partisan politics, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention goes on record to amend Article 3, Section 9, of the constitution to read as follows:

"The American Federation of Labor nationally and locally shall enter into the building of a political party by and for labor, based upon a program of labor's needs and interests."

and be it further

RESOLVED, That all unions and Councils be instructed to call state conferences immediately for the drafting of a state and national program, and that the Executive Council call a national conference, inviting all organized labor to participate in drafting a national program of political action immediately.

FUTURE WAGE AND WORK SECURITY

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate James L. McDevitt, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The future prospects of the wage earner is indeed dim according to statistical experts who claim that production will taper off after two years, and due to the future insecure status of the wage earners which will become more and more acute as technological development continues to assert itself, and

WHEREAS, The struggle for jobs and security must begin at once by preparing and introducing legislation which will guarantee these rights to all wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The necessity for such legislation is imperative, and action must not only be of a state nature, but must involve organized labor on a national scale, and

WHEREAS, Legislation for jobs and security must be based on a guaranteed annual wage of 52 weeks plus a reduction of hours in a work week, preferably to 30 hours, with a level of wages to insure a high standard of living under the present economic system, and this legislation must be rigid in its outline to include all

wage earners whether public utility or transportation workers, discrimination against any group of wage earners must be eradicated and not tolerated, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor by request of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, institute a move to prepare such legislation for national use, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor solicit support from all sections of organized labor so as this legislation can be enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

CIVIL SERVICE STATUS FOR FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD CLASS POSTMASTERS

Resolution No. 162—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, F. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Halbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higley, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. De-

laney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Postmasters are now appointed to that position through examinations, recommendation of their Congressmen, and

WHEREAS, In most instances are men of the political faith which hold power at the time, and

WHEREAS, These appointees are men of little or no experience in the postal service, and

WHEREAS, The postal service has grown to be the largest business organization in the world, and the administration thereof, for economic reasons, should leaders appointed from the postal service, be in the hands of qualified and experienced therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That when the office of a postmaster of the first, second, or third-class becomes vacant, the Postmaster General shall immediately designate an employe of that office to serve as Acting Postmaster, and that the Postmaster General is authorized to fill the vacancy by transfer of a postmaster from any other post office of the same or next lower class. If not filled in this manner, the Postmaster General shall inform the Civil Service Commission who will as soon as practicable hold an examination open only to postal employes in the office affected, or who may reside within the delivery limits of that office. As soon as practicable after the examination, the Civil Service Commission will furnish an eligible register to the Postmaster General who will make a selection from the three highest names on the eligible register and certify the appointment as postmaster of the person selected. Appointments made in this way will be without definite term, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby record its approval of placing the appointments of first, second and third-class postmasters under Civil Service and adds its active support to the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to bring about this reform.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SALARY INCREASE FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES

Resolution No. 163—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employes; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employes International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. De-laney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Government employes have had inadequate increases during the past two years, and

WHEREAS, The increases granted by the 79th Congress to Government em-

ployes do not sufficiently meet the increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Government employes have Council of the American Federation of Labor is endeavoring to secure upward revisions of salary, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at San Francisco, California, pledges its support to the affiliated organizations in the GECAFOFL in securing an equitable upward revision of salaries and wages and instructs the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LIBERALIZATION OF UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT ACT

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employes; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employes International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E.

Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. De-laney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Liberalization of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act is a necessary forward step in the protection of career employes of our Federal Government, and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives passed H. R. 4127 on July 21, 1947, and

WHEREAS, Action in the United States Senate on call of the calendar of bills to which there was no objection resulted in the bill being passed over due to objections of Senators, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of an improved retirement system for Federal employes and that it joins with the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor in calling upon the majority and minority leaders of the United States Senate to use their collective effort to the end that the Senate of the United States may have an opportunity to vote upon liberalization of the United States Civil Service Retirement Law immediately upon the reconvening of the 80th Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

RURAL LETTER CARRIERS SUBSTITUTION STATUS

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employes; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton

Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. DeLaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Substitutes in the rural delivery service in the Post Office Department do not have the protection of civil service, and

WHEREAS, This denies them privileges that they should be entitled to and defeats the effectiveness of the merit system, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses legislation giving rural carrier substitutes a civil service status and grants annual leave and sick leave as contained in bills S. 202 and H. R. 1187 now pending before the Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

HIGHER STANDARDS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny,

National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. DeLaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employees' representation thereon; employees' representation on all personnel boards, unqualified adherence to and extension of the Civil Service System with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal sub-

stitute employees; and, village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries, extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems, higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work; liberalization of the Civil Service Retirement Law and establishment of the right to optional retirement after twenty-five years' service; application of seniority principles to all Government employees; establishment of a system of longevity pay; and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of the Government Employees Council in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the programs and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

POSTAL SERVICE

Resolution No. 167—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph,

John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. DeLaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The United States Postal Service is a public utility serving all of the people of the United States, as well as every business, social, religious, or other institution or association and the welfare of all the people is vitally affected by the character of regularity and efficiency of postal service, and

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department originally was established and continues to exist primarily to give service to the American people. Therefore the only sound policy is one of service. Service, working conditions, salaries and employe welfare should not be affected by the presence or absence of a so-called postal deficit. The Post Office Department is not a business operated for profit. It is a public institution whose primary function is to collect, transmit and deliver mail from and to all citizens, those in sparsely settled areas as well as those in congested areas. Throughout the history of the Post Office Department Congress has utilized the functions of the Department to encourage education, science and religion; to build roads, extend railroads, develop aviation and perform innumerable non-revenue and non-profit functions. The functions of the Post Office Department are no more a business than the functions of other governmental departments. The Post Office is a service institution. We pro-

test the practice of referring to postal expenditures as a deficit, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in San Francisco, California, October, 1947, hereby declare that it shall be the policy of the Post Office Department to furnish to the people of the United States adequate and efficient postal service at all times and that there shall be at all times adequate personnel with equitable salaries and other working conditions, and within the classified civil service to efficiently and expeditiously render the service desired by the people, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the duty and responsibility of the Congress of the United States to see that this policy is effectuated.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

NON-CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES IN POSTAL SERVICE

Resolution No. 168—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph

D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions, and

WHEREAS, Due to emergency conditions incident to the war, many temporary employees have been employed in the postal service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its sixty-sixth convention, asserts its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That prompt steps be taken to replace all temporary or non-certified civil service employees in the postal service as soon as practicable.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

MODERNIZATION OF COMPENSATION ACT

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and

MULTIPLICITY OF TAXATION

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The complexities of a highly intricate economic world have undergone accelerated changes in the last 30 years, and

WHEREAS, The individual finds it far more difficult than it was three decades ago to achieve rehabilitation or adjustment after injuries resulting from hazards on the job, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government, acting in the role of exemplary employer, should cause the United States Employees' Compensation Act governing its own employees to be revised in line with modern day requirements, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby record its heartiest approval to the efforts of affiliated unions and the Government Employees Council, and herewith adds its active support to the increase of compensation rates for Government employees injured in line of duty, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such increase in rates, in no event, should be less than the amount received while on active duty.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There is an increase in the number of taxes Government employees are being forced to pay, and

WHEREAS, Certain municipalities, notably Philadelphia, have imposed so-called wage taxes, the burden of which, particularly during wartime, has fallen

heavily upon Government employees in those cities, and

WHEREAS, Government employees have been given no choice in the matter when their jobs have been sent to other cities under decentralization programs and are forced to abandon their homes or lose their jobs, and

WHEREAS, Government employees, as result, have found themselves beset with tax systems not of their own choosing, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government, including the Congress, has not provided any relief against multiple taxation against its own employees, and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the O'Hara bill which would have brought some relief against such oppressive taxation was denied final passage in the Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now records its unreserved approval of passage of a bill similar to the O'Hara bill (H. R. 127) and gives unstinting support to the efforts of the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to remove existing tax abuses.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FIVE-DAY WEEK FOR RURAL LETTER CARRIERS

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Wil-

liam L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Letter carriers in the rural delivery service of the Post Office Department are the only group of employees in the field service of the Post Office Department who are required by law to work six days per week, and

WHEREAS, This denies them privileges that they should be entitled to and defeats the purpose of the 40-hour week, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses legislation giving rural carriers a five-day work-week as contained in legislation currently pending before the 80th Congress in the bills S. 785 and H. R. 1356.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

RURAL LETTER CARRIERS ALLOWANCE INCREASE

Resolution No. 172—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece

B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The cost of rural carrier delivery equipment and maintenance has advanced far beyond the allowance received, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses legislation establishing an allowance of ten cents per mile per day for each mile of travel, and a minimum allowance of one dollar per hour for all carriers who serve routes readjusted under the Burch Act, and for carriers on routes of thirty miles or less in length.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

MINIMUM TAX EXEMPTION FOR FEDERAL ANNUITANTS

Resolution No. 173—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks;

Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Income taxes should in justice be graduated according to ability to pay, and

WHEREAS, Those drawing small annuities following careers in the public service should not be unduly burdened, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the first \$1440 of annuities derived from the Federal service should be exempted from Federal income taxes, and that this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the Government Employees Council in support of legislation pending in Congress for that purpose.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FIVE-DAY WEEK FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 174—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

RESOLVED, That the amendment to Public Law No. 141 of the Second Session of the 73rd Congress, known as the Thomas Amendment, which establishes the 40-hour work-week in United States Government Service, be amended by inserting the words "Monday through Fri-

day, both inclusive, shall constitute the 40-hour week."

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES— WAGE BOARD EMPLOYEES NIGHT DIFFERENTIAL AND HOLIDAY PAY

Resolution No. 175—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, At the time of the enactment by Congress of the Federal Employees' Pay Acts of 1945 and 1946, the Wage Board Employees were excluded from the advantages of the 1945 pay act other than payment of time and one-half for overtime, and were excluded from Section 10 and Section 11 entirely of the 1946 Pay Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor be requested to make every effort to have Section 10 and Section 11 of the 1946 Pay Act amended to include the one group of employes who are penalized in this case, namely the Wage Board Employees whose basic rate of compensation is fixed on an annual or monthly basis and adjusted from time to time in accordance with prevailing rates by Wage Boards or similar administrative authority.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ANNUAL AND SICK LEAVE FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 176—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W.

Tracy, J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burroni, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Post Office Department employes are now by law given less than the 26 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That employes of the field service of the Post Office Department should receive 26 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave annually to be accumulative, and that this convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with the Government Employees Council in furtherance of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT FUND

Resolution No. 177—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nygaard, Luther Higbie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Wil-

William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. DeLaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Civil service employes of the Federal Government have been and are maintaining in pursuance of law their own retirement fund based on mutual contribution of employes and the Government, and

WHEREAS, The provisions for contributions to and benefits from the fund are based on elements arising from the distinct characteristics of the service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Civil Service Retirement Fund should be perpetuated as a distinct entity, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to cooperate with the Government Employees Council in opposition to any effort to merge it with any other fund or retirement system.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

TWENTY-FIVE YEAR OPTIONAL RETIREMENT FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 178—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Palmer G. Boyle, P. M. Payton, T. J. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo F. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Carl Nvgaard, Luther Highie, Pat Penny, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvee, J. L. Reilly, Elton L. Davis, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John A. McMahon, Charles M. Herkensham, Frederick J. O'Dwyer, National Association of Postal Supervisors; William J. Pearsall, National

Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Howard Myers, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Milton Terry, John P. Crane, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, Tillman K. Garrison, John Foster, International Typographical Union; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Minnie Anderson, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Thomas Pierce, John Sink, Frank Nelson, Building Service Employees International Union; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Frank F. Randall; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Robert F. Lynch, George Kyne, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Steamfitting Industry of the United States and Canada; D. W. Tracy J. Scott Milne, F. C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Oscar G. Harbach, Edward Peck, John Lennon, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. DeLaney, Charles B. Gramling, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, John H. Lyons, B. A. Murray, Leslie L. Myers, Clyde Strickland, E. M. Woods, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; George L. Berry, George L. Googe, Ernest J. Burrone, J. H. de la Rosa, Arthur Sanford, Jack D. Maltester, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employe after twenty-five years' service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs, the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in securing the enactment of a twenty-five year optional retirement law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PALM SPRINGS ANTI-LABOR CAMPAIGN

Resolution No. 179—By Delegates Harry E. Griffin, S. L. Hefley, Central Labor Council, San Bernardino; Central Labor Union, Riverside, California.

WHEREAS, The position of organized labor is being severely attacked in Palm Springs, California, and

WHEREAS, Said city is recognized as the birthplace of the Taft-Hartley Bill, as a result of N.A.M. convention held there, also N.A.M. and M. & M. convention which is scheduled for October 20th through 23rd, 1947, and

WHEREAS, There now exists vicious anti-picketing laws and proposed legis-

lation by the city to require all employees to be fingerprinted and passed on by the Chief of Police, and

WHEREAS, A Joint Organizing Committee, comprising secretaries and presidents of Riverside Central Labor Council, and San Bernardino Central Labor Council, and San Bernardino and Riverside Counties Building and Construction Trades Council, to coordinate efforts of all labor organizations for the purpose of combatting this move, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled take cognizance of this situation and request all international unions to bend all assistance possible to correct this un-American move.

Referred to Committee on Organization.



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